

# The Classical Journal

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ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND AND THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION  
OF THE PACIFIC STATES

Volume XXIX

NOVEMBER, 1933

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# THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

Published by the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, with the cooperation of the  
Classical Association of New England and the Classical Association of the Pacific States

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# THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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## Editorial

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### SEPTEMBER IMPETUS

At the risk of seeming didactic we feel impelled to reiterate the exhortation of last year that we realize fully the importance of a good start. And by that we mean as much a good start for the teacher as for the pupil. Your salary has been badly cut and more work has been piled on? That is the case with most of us all over the country. Smile and keep the classroom cheerful. You could not attend the summer session at your university because of shortened funds? Start the practice of reading new Latin and the translation of works in allied fields. Accumulate new and fresh material from the works of commentators and note how much more easily the business of teaching is carried on. Be composed, overlook small annoyances, avoid indiscriminate talking and yet be interesting to your pupils, and be not guilty of that greatest sin, hurrying for the sake of covering the assignment. A healthy state of the Classics in high school and college depends now more than ever upon cheerful, well-informed, hard-working Latin teachers.

D. S. W.

### "TRANSLATION À LA MODE"

Under the above caption, a former editor of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL discussed one aspect of the use of the "horse," "pony," "jack," "trot," "crib," and the harmfulness of its practice on the

part of Classical students.<sup>1</sup> At the April meeting of our Association, the same famous scholar, himself the brilliant translator of Seneca and Ovid, read a paper on "Another Phase of Translation."

There is still another phase of "Translation à la Mode" to which it seems to us timely to call attention.

One of the charges most commonly brought against the continuance of Latin in the high school and college curriculum, is that after three or four or five or even six years of training in Latin, "the student is still unable to pick up a piece of ordinary Latin and translate it into English." Our Classical majors in certain courses in Education are sometimes challenged to exhibit just such a proof of "the futility of their Latin training" and the utter waste of the time they have spent on a "dead language." If some of these foes of the Classics should happen to attend a meeting of one of our regional associations, or even of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, or if they should happen to peruse the pages of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL, how abundantly they could justify themselves in their position. To us it is one of the most pathetic exhibitions of the status of classical culture in our midst when we see teachers of Latin and Greek in our high schools and colleges when reading a paper before a group of students and teachers of the Classics, openly confess their weakness and fly, when they wish to quote a passage from Catullus, or Vergil, or Demosthenes, or Theocritus, to a "pony" for the translation of the passage in hand. To say nothing of the "foe," we wonder what the pupils of those same teachers would think of them, if they should catch the professors publicly committing the same offense so severely castigated in the case of the surreptitiously offending student!

Of course, we would all agree with Keith Preston that the teacher should look for and often find in some fine, literary masterpiece of translation (like Lang, Leaf, and Myers' *Iliad*, or Palmer's *Odyssey*, or Conington's prose translation of *Vergil*, or

<sup>1</sup> Frank J. Miller, CLASSICAL JOURNAL, xxvii, 241 ff. And long before, under the caption "Translations and Translators," Keith Preston had written in similar vein (CLASSICAL JOURNAL, xv, [1920] 242 ff.).



Nixon's *Plautus*) "the just word, or happy epithet," the elegant turn of equivalent expression, that would never occur to him from thumbing a dictionary. But in most of the cases that offend us so severely, if the teacher quoting from a "trot" (even as good "trots" as the Loeb Library) could not make a more satisfying rendering than the one quoted, then surely something is wrong with our guild.

W. M.

#### FRANK J. MILLER AT JAMESTOWN

What was to many of the members in attendance at the meeting of the Association at Williamsburg last April the most impressive single event of the convention was the brief program given at historic old Jamestown. Conspicuous upon the walls of the solitary old church, the only building that stands today where the first permanent colony was planted on the shores of America, is set the Latin inscription<sup>1</sup> composed by Dr. Frank J. Miller, for many years one of the Editors-in-Chief of the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, in honor of George Sandys, America's first poet and translator of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

Most appropriately to the occasion, Professor Miller, as author of the inscription, as former editor of the *JOURNAL*, and as past president of the Association, was the speaker on this memorable afternoon. To do him honor, Professor Herbert C. Lipscomb, president of the Classical Association of Virginia, in a voice of exquisite cadence, introduced Dr. Miller with the following well-chosen words:

"In the opening chapters of the fifth book of the *De Finibus*, Cicero depicts a charming scene in which he and a small band of relatives and friends are wandering through the gardens of Plato's Academy talking of the stimulus to the imagination that comes from visiting spots associated with famous men. The sentiment of the group is summed up by the young Lucius who in thinking of Athens and its environs says: '*Quacumque ingredimur, in aliquam historiam vestigium ponimus.*'"

"These words, I am sure, give fitting expression to our own feelings as we gather on this historic island this afternoon to pay

<sup>1</sup> Published in the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, xxv, 492-493.

a simple tribute to the English humanist who became America's first poet and classical scholar. For it was just fourteen years after the settlement at Jamestown that George Sandys, youngest son of the Archibishop, came to these shores on the staff of Governor Francis Wyatt as Treasurer of the Virginia Colony. Just before he left England, Sandys made provision for the publication of his translation into English heroic verse of the first five books of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. In answer to the appeal of many friends such as the poet, Michael Drayton, Sandys resolved to complete the remaining ten books here at Jamestown in spite of the difficulties with which he was faced. How serious these difficulties were we may gather from the dedication to King Charles in which Sandys states that his poem had 'Warres and Tumults to bring it to light instead of the Muses,' and that it was 'limn'd by that unperfect light which was snatcht from the houres of night and repose.' Yet amid such difficulties he worked at his task for five years and in 1626 published in London his completed translation, the merits of which won the praise of so exacting a critic as Alexander Pope.

"The significance of Sandys' work as a pioneer in American letters, the Classical Association of Virginia, under the able leadership of Mrs. Hiden, recognized a few years ago by placing on the island where the poet wrought a bronze tablet bearing a Latin inscription which expresses our sense of gratitude and obligation. When the tablet was unveiled on the fifth of December, 1929, our appreciation of Sandys' achievement was conveyed chiefly through the silent words of this memorial. But today we are more fortunate in that we have present the author of the inscription himself, an Ovidian scholar who has done much to bring to fruition the seed which Sandys planted; for as Sandys was the first American translator of Ovid, so our speaker is the latest. We are glad to welcome him to Virginia. He had the misfortune to be born away from home and after many years of wandering he comes today to the most revered shrine of his father's native state. It gives me great pleasure to present to you our colleague and friend, Professor F. J. Miller."

W. M.

## ROMA: QUANTUM MUTATA AB ILLA

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By H. V. CANTER  
University of Illinois

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Doubtless one of the aims of every wide-awake teacher of Latin is to do for or with his subject what the celebrated school-master, Doctor Thomas Arnold, considered the all-important work of instructors in Roman history, viz. "to lodge in the mind of the pupil the conception of Rome." Certainly the instructor of Latin is both alert and in method pedagogically sound who keeps constantly and vividly before his students the various features of Roman life and history and of Rome's civil, political, and religious institutions which in some form have survived to the present and have significantly influenced the course of our own civilization. But the very complexity of ancient Rome in its physical aspects, as it continued and changed (sometimes rapidly) from century to century, and the comprehensiveness of her cultural institutions during the approximately seven centuries with which teachers of Latin are most concerned are a challenge and an allurements, and yet also something of a source of despair to him who would know the facts certainly and teach them effectively. That an accurate knowledge of these facts is an indispensable condition for vital teaching, for keeping the focus sharp on the pictures daily thrown upon the screen of classroom instruction, there are perhaps none who will deny. It is not, however, uniformly appreciated, especially by secondary teachers, that, just as a knowledge of ancient Rome's topography, monuments, and institutions aids in a better understanding of the physical features and culture of its modern successor, so a substantial knowledge of the Rome of today, especially if there be added to this knowledge some of the more important changes which the city has undergone in becoming what it now is, is most helpful

in reconstructing the city of the long distant past.<sup>1</sup> But one who knows well the Rome of 1933, even without a precise knowledge of the successive changes that made the ancient into the modern city, will be able to form a more correct and adequate idea of the Rome of our study — the city, its monuments, and its institutions — than would otherwise be possible.

Many times has the writer repeated to himself the well-known words used by Vergil of the mangled body of Hector (*Aeneid* II, 274 f.), paraphrased in the caption set above, as he has viewed the city from the Janiculum, or as he has stood before the ruins of some of Rome's monuments (or near the spot where they once stood), moving now to this side, now to that, reflecting on their pitifully changed condition or total disappearance, and trying to force them, as it were, to tell their history, much as a general might beleaguer a city to force its surrender. But let it be said at once that it is not the purpose of this paper, save in an incidental way, to discuss the history of the city of Rome, or its physical changes, or its buildings, much less to follow in detail the decay, mutilation, destruction, or disappearance of its individual monuments by their dismantlement for the sake of their materials. It considers only monuments known from general sources of information (references in literature, inscriptions,

<sup>1</sup> Detailed discussions of many of the facts presented in this paper are to be found in the following: R. Burn, *Rome and the Campagna*: London, George Bell and Sons (1876); J. Henry Middleton, *Remains of Ancient Rome*: London, Adam and Charles Black (2 vols., 1892); S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*: Boston, Allyn and Bacon (1911); Platner-Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*: New York, Oxford University Press (1929); E. Rodocanachi, *Les Monuments de Rome après la Chute de L'Empire*: Paris, Hachette (1914); Helen C. Bowerman, *Roman Sacrificial Altars*: Lancaster, Pa. (1913); R. Lanciani, *Ancient Rome*: Boston, Houghton, Mifflin and Co. (1892); R. Lanciani, *Destruction of Ancient Rome*: New York, Macmillan and Co. (1899); R. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*: Boston, Houghton, Mifflin and Co. (1897); R. Lanciani, *New Tales of Old Rome*: Boston, Houghton, Mifflin and Co. (1901); R. Lanciani, *Ancient and Modern Rome*: Boston, Marshall Jones Co. (1925); Grant Showerman, *Eternal Rome*: New Haven, Yale University Press (1924); Grant Showerman, *Rome and the Romans*: New York, Macmillan (1932); Johnston, *Private Life of the Romans*<sup>2</sup>: Chicago, Scott, Foresman and Co. (1932).

drawings, regionary catalogues, and so on) or from existing (usually inconsiderable) ruins. Neglected are such visible remains as give an at all adequate idea of the original object or structure. Hence in general there is exclusion of references and statements bearing on the Roman Forum and its monuments, the Imperial Fora, the Palatine with its impressive ruins, the Colosseum, the Pantheon, the Tiber with its wharfs and bridges, the walls and gates of the city, its great highways, and its monumentally stupendous aqueducts.

The aim of this discussion is to present to a special group of students and teachers, with a view to giving them a better visualization of ancient Rome, a number of striking changes that have taken place in the Rome of our studies, those changes, e.g., which would be at once observed by a visitor from ancient Rome, could he return to the Rome of the present day. Such value as it may have is offered to those who, although having spent no inconsiderable amount of time in the study of Latin and Roman history, have either never visited the Eternal City or have done so hurriedly and without being able to bring away any concrete idea of the "Grandeur that was Rome."

Marked changes that have taken place in Rome's physical features, both in manner and extent, can here be merely noted. Three of the isolated hills once had, at least on the Tiber side, sheer cliffs of rock. The mean level of Rome's hills has been raised, either by the accumulation of rubbish resulting from fires, or by artificial deposit of soil. At the same time sharp peaks have been removed, rugged sides changed into gentle slopes, and valleys filled up, sometimes to great depths. Further, there has been an enormous accumulation of soil upon the lower levels and the plain. While accretion of soil may occur in various ways, it was due in Rome principally to the crumbling of houses and great public and private monuments, and the erection of other buildings upon their ruins. In some cases three structures have been found successively superimposed upon the original one, e.g., on the site of the present church of San Clemente and at a spot upon the Quirinal where once stood the Baths of Constantine.



The level of the entire city having thus been raised, the remains of ancient Rome (such as have not been excavated) lie buried at a depth varying from one foot to many feet. One cannot fail to observe the difference between former and present levels such as exists at the Forum of Augustus, the Pantheon, the Porta Tiburtina, and some of the early churches. Between the Quirinal and the Viminal the pavement of an early street is forty feet below the surface. The ancient level of the road between the Arch of Constantine and the Circus Maximus varies from fifteen to thirty-five feet below that of today. In general, mediaeval Rome was already ten feet above its earlier surface. The former Campus Martius, once thickly set with great public structures, lies buried in some places twenty-five feet or more below today's level. Many who go shopping in Rome's most fashionable street, the Via del Corso, are wholly unaware that beneath that street runs the famous Via Flaminia, hidden at a depth of twelve to twenty feet all the way from the foot of the Capitoline to the Mulvian bridge.

A notable change in the physical aspect of the city is seen also in the disappearance of the greater part of its wooded area and open places of public resort. Leaving aside groves that are mentioned (twelve in connection with, and six independently of, shrines), of which not one remains, a nearly continuous stretch of green gardens and public parks once extended more than two miles in length and a half mile in width on both sides of the Tiber, beautiful pleasure grounds first laid out by wealthy citizens and then absorbed into the imperial domain by bequest, purchase, or confiscation. The exact or approximate site of thirty-five of these *horti* (some famous for their artistic treasures and historical association, as those of Caesar, Lucullus, Maecenas, and Salust) is known, while that of some thirty others is unknown or at least uncertain. Although Rome still has public gardens and open squares, it has nothing comparable to its former extensive gardens, its eight fora or public squares, and its eighteen *campi* or commons, green spaces set apart for foot races and athletic exercises. The estimate has been made that in Rome public gardens, parks, and open places covered one-eighth of the city, an area at

least four times greater than that given over to similar public use in any modern capital of Europe.

Before taking up some of the features of ancient Rome noticeably missing in the Rome of the present, we must consider briefly the city that fell into ruin and by what means and agencies. The student who thinks of Rome's grandeur generally visualizes the Rome of Augustus, recalling that emperor's complacent statement that he had inherited a city of brick and left it one of marble, a city succinctly sketched by Showerman (*Eternal Rome* 128): "The city of Augustus was a magnificent spectacle. Its heart was solid and brilliant with pillared temples, basilicas, and porticoes, with arches and statues, all of gleaming marble from every quarter of the world." Since the literature of the late Republic and the early Empire receives the chief attention of secondary students, it is natural for them to consider the Rome of these periods as the one whose destruction began with the Dark Ages. But such a conclusion is not historically correct. The Rome that has been laid bare by the excavator's spade is not, to any appreciable degree, the representative of the Golden Age, but a fourth-century city, that of Diocletian and Constantine, which, owing to frequent and destructive fires and restorations poorly made, had far passed its prime. Indeed Rome was already old and in constant need of doctor and nurse when first the twilight and then the pitchy darkness of ruin settled over the civilization of the Western World. All the more, then, by comparison, must we marvel at the magnificence of the Augustan city, when we stand before some splendid monument of the decadent period, some priceless piece of statuary or other precious work of art, which to our astonished gaze seems to have come forth from the chamber of death in all the brightness of resurrection robes.

Yet even the city of the decline had not lost its brilliance. Impressive are the statistics given by the two editions of the regional catalogue (the *Notitia* and the *Curiosum*), compiled respectively just before, and following the close of, Constantine's reign. According to this source Rome then contained: two circuses, two amphitheatres, three theaters, ten basilicas for civil

use, four hundred and twenty-three temples, seventeen hundred and ninety palatial homes, eleven public imperial baths (*thermae*), twelve extensive porticoes (in the Campus Martius alone), thirty-six marble triumphal arches, twenty-two "great horses" (equestrian statues), eighty gilded and seventy-seven ivory statues of the gods (neglecting the countless marble statues everywhere in evidence), two colossi (doubtless those of Nero and Augustus), and six obelisks — the latter item clearly an underestimate, since, omitting forty-two small ones mentioned by a fourth-century writer, Aurelius Victor, there are still in Rome thirteen large obelisks, one lies unexcavated, and four have been taken elsewhere. Later writers also marveled at the beauty of Rome. Sidonius Apollinaris, who died in A.D. 488, boasts of its theaters, amphitheaters, and baths. Cassiodorus, consul under Theodoric in 514, speaks of the Circus Maximus with its obelisks, Trajan's magnificent forum, the theater of Pompey (wonderful even in its incipient decay), with special mention of equestrian statues of marble and bronze, which he characterizes as "abounding droves of horses." Despite the city's progressive decline following the removal of the capital to Constantinople, there were said to be in Rome as late as the Gothic wars 3,785 bronze statues representing emperors and other distinguished men. Procopius in 552 writes in admiration of statues by Phidias and Lysippus shown to him, and of the Forum of Peace, as yet practically intact. Even at the close of the sixth century Rome was probably richer in monuments than all the modern capitals of Europe taken together. As for its artistic treasures, a fair idea may be gathered from the enormous number of works of art and of antiquities (doubtless only a fraction of the original whole) recovered from its soil since Renaissance times and from the fact that in the recovery it was found profitable to excavate (an estimate of operations up to 1892) 270 million cubic feet of soil.

The destruction that overtook Rome's great monuments was not the work of the barbarian invaders, as was asserted by such zealous proponents of Christianity as Augustine, Jerome, Orosius, and others, who were pleased to see in the city's fancied annihila-

tion by fire and other means a direct and terrible chastisement of God upon paganism. As compared with other means and agencies the part of the barbarians in Rome's destruction is scarcely worth considering. Alaric (in 410), Genseric (455), Vitiges (537), and Totila (546) with their roving hordes were intent solely upon gathering spoil; and while they ruthlessly plundered temples, palaces, and churches, carrying off incalculable treasures, they did not raze, burn, or dismantle (an exception or two aside) the public structures. The Lombards (755) entirely, and the Saracens (846) almost wholly, confined their operations to plundering the surrounding country. Far worse were the acts of a supposedly civilized emperor of the Eastern Empire, Constans II, when in 663 he carried off all the bronze statues he could find and stripped the Pantheon (already a Christian church) of its covering of gilt bronze tiles. Worse too was the destruction wrought by that *terror mundi* of Norman times, Robert Guiscard, who in 1084 burned extensive areas of the city, including some of its finest.

To the ruin and demolition of the ancient structures natural agencies of course contributed their full share. Earthquakes, especially those of 407, 801, and 1349, were disastrous. Inundations of the Tiber (well over a hundred are recorded in the periods of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance) greatly damaged the edifices situated in the lower levels of the city, particularly the floods of 554, 792, 1530, and 1598. Vegetation of all kinds, luxuriant at Rome owing to its hot climate and excessive moisture, exercised a powerfully destructive force, by thrusting its roots and tendrils into every point and opening of the structures and forcing their parts to give way and fall. But far outweighing that of nature's forces was the destruction brought about by the hand of man, by the Romans of the later Empire and by their successors of the Byzantine, mediaeval, and Renaissance periods, who, to achieve various ends, demolished, utilized, or transformed the ancient monuments. To be sure, some of the later emperors sought to preserve and even to restore the buildings; but others, like Arcadius, Honorius, and Theodosius, ordered the images to

be torn from their sacred seats and the temples to be utilized *ad usum publicum*, i.e. destroyed or transformed. Even Theodoric, although undertaking to restore the monuments, did not scruple to despoil them of their ornaments, which were used to embellish his mansion at Ravenna. The mediaeval period did not in general do great injury to the city or its ruins. One result, however, of the catastrophe occasioned by Robert Guiscard was to force the populace in still larger numbers into the old Campus Martius, where it found and used lavishly the materials of great abandoned public structures to build houses in replacement of those destroyed by the great fire of 1084. From this time the destruction of ancient Rome began on a greatly increased scale, spoil being freely taken from everything that the accumulation of soil had not hidden. But wholesale demolition of the structures and their contents was due to the Renaissance builders, who used their beautiful, costly materials in the construction of churches (in Rome and elsewhere), public buildings, and private palaces. Lime burners stripped the monuments of their marble blocks and facings, of columns and statues, and turned them into lime. Marble cutters reduced the beautiful colored slabs into smaller lengths and thicknesses and utilized them as veneering material to produce the magnificent polychrome effects of the Renaissance churches. In this period more harm was done to the monuments than in all the preceding centuries of barbarism. This lavish consumption of marble, which continued for centuries, explains why, among the more than 8,000 columns reemployed in the public and private buildings of modern Rome, only relatively rarely is it possible to discover one of marble.

Passing by sundry conspicuous objects, such as theaters, amphitheaters, circuses, basilicas, the stadium built by Domitian, and the Odeum (a music hall containing seats for 5,000), we may note a few others whose disappearance marks great changes in passing from the old city to the new. Vanished are the structures dedicated to pagan worship, hundreds of altars, shrines, and temples. Sacrifice was an essential part of the religious conception of the Romans; and the altar, primarily a place for



the worshiper's offering, had a prominent place in all religious observances involving the rite of sacrifice. There are still today in the various collections of antiquities in Rome over 200 sacrificial altars, most of which were found within the city's walls. Of street shrines (small unenclosed places with altar consecrated to a divinity) there were more than 200 in the reign of Augustus, 265 at the census of Vespasian in A.D. 73, and 304 at the time of Constantine. The amazing number of 423 temples (properly covered sanctuaries with altar or image of a divinity) as reported in the fourth century doubtless included many of the unenclosed sanctuaries or shrines. But there is no doubt that the number of temples proper, some of great magnificence, was large. Evidence is available to prove the existence of 124 whose exact or approximate site is known. We have Augustus' own statement that he restored eighty-two temples at his own expense. More than fifty Christian churches were built upon the site of the ruins of ancient monuments, many of which were temples. Visitors to such celebrated churches in Rome as Santa Maria Maggiore, Santa Maria in Cosmedin, and San Clemente, if they know nothing of the history of the ancient monuments, often do not suspect that these edifices rest upon the remains of temples once thronged with pagan worshipers.

With the disappearance of Rome's splendid temples of marble and travertine, much more was lost than the buildings themselves. Roman temples were genuine storehouses of precious content. In addition to their use as places of worship they served as galleries of paintings, museums of statuary, and repositories of all kinds of valuable and cherished objects. While the removal of works of art from these sacred edifices to civil ones began nearly a half century earlier, the temples and their artistic treasures were doomed (despite efforts at later times to save the buildings) when the Emperor Gratian in 383 abolished the privileges of the temples and confiscated their revenues, an act followed a few years later by the prohibition of pagan sacrifices (even if strictly private) and the closing of the temples forever in 394. Only brief illustrations can be given of notable art treasures that were

lost, most of them permanently, with the passing of the temples. In the great sanctuary of Isis and Serapis, which stood in the Campus Martius, Rome possessed something approximating an Egyptian museum. Its monumental gateway was flanked by obelisks, and the sacred avenue leading from this entrance to the double temple was lined with various kinds of masterpieces of Egyptian sculpture. The splendor of this religious precinct is at least suggested by the numerous archaeological and artistic treasures discovered since the Middle Ages in and about the sacred enclosure, which was destroyed by an early outburst of fanaticism following an attempt to revive the pagan religion, at which time the huge masterpieces were overturned and mutilated and statues of Pharaohs, gods, priests, and other dignitaries were thrown from their pedestals and broken. Another group of buildings, also in the Campus Martius, known collectively as the *Opera Octaviae* (a rectangular portico of double columns, enclosing temples to Jupiter and to Juno, libraries, and other structures), was richly adorned with art treasures, among which we know of more than a dozen celebrated statues or groups of statues and five famous paintings. As a special feature there stood in front of the temples seventy-five bronze equestrian statues of the generals and friends of Alexander the Great who perished at the battle of the Granicus River, famous for Alexander's victory over the Persians. Still another illustration of rich treasures lost is afforded by the fate of the Temple of Peace (with its enclosing Forum of Peace), which was begun by Vespasian following the capture of Jerusalem and which housed among other valuable objects many famous works of Greek artists, rare masterpieces of painting, sculpture, and bronze. Josephus, the well-known historian of the Jewish race, says that in the sacred enclosure were collected and exhibited numberless treasures of art, to see which men were ready to come from all quarters of the earth, and that among these were the objects of gold which the Romans took from the temple of the Jews. All the treasures of the Temple of Peace, if we except the sacred vessels of the Jews (said to have been kept in a fire-proof compartment), perished in the great fire

of Commodus' reign, in the year 191. It scarcely seems possible that the golden vessels from the Temple of Zion could have escaped the destructive fire just mentioned, notwithstanding a persistent, although varying, tradition that they were carried off by the barbarian invaders, were ultimately presented to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, were removed thence by a Persian conqueror in 614, and were thenceforth wholly lost from sight.

No longer to be seen in Rome, although the city is by no means destitute in this respect, are its once almost innumerable statues. The extent of their disappearance, especially from public places, constitutes one of the significant changes between the old city and the new. That Rome possessed an enormous number of statues is indicated by the statement sometimes made that the city had two populations of equal size, one living and one of marble. The collection, which began following contact with the Greeks in Southern Italy and in Greece proper, was constantly increased. In 187 B.C. 285 bronze, and 230 marble, statues were brought from Greece and placed in the temple of Hercules of the Muses, built for that special purpose. Following the taking of Corinth in 146 B.C., Rome's squares, gardens, and temples were filled with statues, both marble and bronze. In 19 B.C. Agrippa ornamented fountains built that year with 300 statues. Augustus melted down and put to other use some eighty silver statues which represented him. That the aggregate of statues of various kinds once existing in the city was large is made even more certain from the fact that, despite their destruction for centuries and the previous finding of great numbers, there were discovered in Rome, in the period 1872-92, 192 marble statues in a good state of preservation. In different ways the statues disappeared or were destroyed. At the closing of the temples, as said above, the images of the gods were removed from their sacred seats and set up in the fora, the baths, and the basilicas, where they were viewed simply as works of art or objects of curiosity. Many of the most beautiful marble, and the ever highly prized bronze, statues were carried off by Genseric in 455 and by Totila in 546. Few of the bronze type

escaped destruction in the systematic search for this metal which continued from the barbarian invasions until the city was taken in 1084. The reckless destruction of statues began as early as Vespasian, when his partisans in defending the Capitol against the forces of Vitellius tore down the statues and piled them across the entrance to the citadel. Procopius (*Hist. of the Wars* v, 22, 22) relates that the garrison of Hadrian's mausoleum broke into pieces and hurled down upon its Gothic assailants the statues which even at that time ornamented this stronghold. But a still ignobler fate overtook the marble statues when they came to be valued not as works of art but as so much material, when they were broken up and used in the building of walls or else given over to the lime burner. In 1883 there was found near the shrine of Vesta a huge pile of marble statues which by some fortunate accident had escaped the destroyer. These statues of grace and beauty, representing the *Virgines Vestales*, had been arranged like a cord of wood by the desecrating hand of some digger of marbles, awaiting their conversion into building lime.

Nothing is left in Rome that even suggests the architectural features and practical purpose of one of the ancient city's most characteristic structures, the *porticus*, a Roman adaptation of the Greek *stoa*. By that term we must understand a covered colonnade, formed either by a wall and one or more parallel rows of columns, or, less frequently, by rows of columns alone — one type thus forming a long arcade bordering a street, the other enclosing a rectangular area laid out like a garden or occupied by a building, such as a temple. The earliest porticoes, few in number, served a practical business purpose, e.g. that of a corn exchange, a vegetable market, or a place for the storage of merchandise. Wealthy Romans also had covered colonnades, like those of the porticoes, over the driveways of their gardens and pleasure grounds. But it is in public structures that we find porticoes of architectural importance, built to minister to the comfort, pleasure, and social intercourse of all who desired to use them. These colonnades were often of great length, sometimes with such features as picture galleries, museums of statuary, and

beautiful garden enclosures, and built withal of such costly materials (columns of rarest marble, gilded capitals, pavements inlaid with jasper and porphyry) that they must be reckoned among the architectural decorations of Rome. It was Augustus and his wealthy friends who set the fashion in these splendid porticoes, covering large parts of the Campus Martius, with them. In the second century there were not fewer than twelve of large dimensions in the area bounded by the Capitoline, the Quirinal, and the Tiber, connecting the more important buildings, such as the circuses, theaters, and temples. While furnishing a convenient meeting place for friends, they were first of all designed to afford pedestrians protection from wind, rain, cold, and the heat of summer; and to do this the better the spaces between the columns were sometimes filled in with glass or hedges of boxwood. The twelve great porticoes of the Campus Martius alone afforded an aggregate length of sheltered colonnade exceeding two and one-half miles, enclosed an area of over 100,000 square yards, and required for their construction about 2000 columns. The example set by Augustus was imitated down to the end of the Empire, a notable instance being the several miles of colonnades flanking the roads leading to the great churches of the martyrs, from the Aelian bridge to Saint Peter's, from the Ostian gate to Saint Paul's, and from the Tiburtine gate to Saint Lorenzo's.

Conspicuously missing in Rome today are the great monumental structures of the public baths, not to mention the more than 800 smaller ones accessible to the people at large. Of the *thermae*, distinguished from the *balnea* principally by such luxurious accessories as porticoes for social meetings, games, and promenades, and halls, lounges, and reading-rooms for literary exercises, there were sixteen notable for their elaborate equipment and patronage. These splendid bathing establishments, which occupied an extensive area of the city under the Empire, were, if we except the Circus Maximus and the Colosseum, the largest of all the public buildings of Rome. The baths of Caracalla had accommodations for 1500 bathers at one time, and those of Diocletian for over 3000. Of course health and cleanliness in



imperial times had ceased to be the only object of the bath. The baths had in fact become luxurious clubs equipped with every comfort, convenience, and novelty that the voluptuary could desire, places whither the fashionable and the idle resorted for entertainment and enjoyment. The cutting of the aqueducts by the Goths first led to their abandonment; then their rare marbles were used to provide receptacles for the relics of martyrs and material for the embellishment of churches; later the buildings became quarries for securing materials for meaner structures and finally disappeared, with few exceptions leaving not a trace behind.

Long since have passed away most of Rome's triumphal arches (there were nearly forty in the later Empire), which may be properly considered a reflection of the national warlike character. They were intended to perpetuate the memory of victorious generals, to represent their exploits, sometimes in sculptured details, and to raise their effigies above the rest of mankind. Some were ornamented with groups of gilded statues or surmounted with chariots and horses of gilt bronze or with a triumphal quadriga between trophies of armor. Many of these honorary monuments stood in the Campus Martius, but a still larger number had been placed in and about the various fora. And it is worth noting that just as in earlier times they were raised on the Sacra Via leading to the great temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, so in the Christian Era they were built (that of Valentinian and Valens in 366, of Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius in 382, and of Arcadius, Honorius, and Theodosius in 405) over the roads converging toward Saint Peter's, and particularly at entrances to the bridges which had to be crossed by pilgrims in their visits to the tomb of the great apostle and martyr.

Rome was once a city noted for its natural springs, *locum fontibus abundantem*, as Cicero says (*De Re Publica* II, 6, 11) in felicitating its founder on his choice of the site. There are descriptions of twenty-three springs within the walls, a few of which are still flowing, although the greater number have long since disappeared under the accumulation of soil. But the Ro-

mans used the generic word *fons* not only of copious natural springs but also of artificial fountains, which were known specifically as basins (*lacus*) large or small, pools or reservoirs (*stagna*), spouting jets (*salientes*), and monumentally imposing fountains (*nymphaea*), some of the latter rich in works of art. During the twelve months of his aedileship (19 B.C.) Agrippa erected 805 fountains and 130 water reservoirs, structures which he ornamented with 300 bronze and marble statues and 400 columns. In the fourth century there were in Rome (without counting the small but often beautiful fountains in the courts and gardens of private houses) 1212 public fountains, most of which must have been of the artificial kind. Although Rome today has some beautiful fountains, probably unsurpassed anywhere, nothing of the ancient ones has survived utter destruction, if we except two of the *nymphaea*: One is found in the Piazza Vittorio Emmanuele, popularly designated as the "Trophies of Marius" because of its identification with a once near-by monument commemorating Marius' victory over the Cimbrians; the other, sometimes called the temple of Minerva Medica from the erroneous notion that a certain statue of Athena was found among its remains, is standing on the Esquiline, the first ruins to meet the eye of the visitor as his train enters the walls of the Eternal City.

It would be easy, did space allow, to enlarge the picture sketched above, to deepen its colors, and to show even more clearly what ancient Rome was by dwelling on a few of the many things which with its passing were forever lost or forever changed. Some of its huge structures and groups of buildings have either left such insignificant remains as to give no suggestion of their former splendor or else have vanished so completely as not to leave one stone upon another. The immense temple of the Sun, built by Aurelian on the slope of the Quirinal as a specimen of eastern architectural splendor, has left behind only one visible reminder, a fragment of its cornice, now lying in the gardens of the Villa Colonna and estimated to weigh one hundred tons. Of the Circus Flaminius (dimensions nearly 1000 by 400 feet), celebrated both as a place for games and for meetings

of the popular assemblies, a structure so important and so conspicuous that its name became the official one for Region IX (which included the Campus Martius), there are only scanty remains and these lie deeply buried under modern buildings. Approached through a low, dingy corridor leading from a narrow and unimportant street are five weather-worn, half-concealed arches and a part of the circuit wall (originally lined with marble slabs), the pathetic remnants of the Forum of Caesar, once praised for the beautiful and rare treasures which it enclosed: a fountain surrounded by nymphs, an equestrian statue of the dictator, a colossal statue of Tiberius, and a temple of solid marble, raised in honor of Venus Genetrix, the mythical ancestress of the Julian gens. Not a trace remains of the Forum of Peace, whose magnificent temple, mentioned above, gave its name to Region IV of the city, except a fragment of a beautiful marble pavement lying more than thirty feet below the level of a narrow street that passes over one corner of what was the ancient enclosure. The remains of the Golden House of Nero, i.e. of the palace proper (for with vestibule, lakes, waterfalls, gardens, etc. the fairylike establishment was really a park of extensive area) are almost concealed under the substructions of the baths of Trajan on the Esquiline not far from the Colosseum. The stately and splendidly adorned mausoleum of Augustus, a ruin seldom even approached by visitors to Rome, was a circular structure faced with white marble (225 feet in diameter) and supporting a great cone of earth planted with cypresses and evergreens, upon which was set a bronze statue of the emperor. The entrance was flanked by two obelisks and by bronze tablets on which were inscribed the decrees of the senate in honor of those buried within, notably the *Res gestae divi Augusti*, the autobiography and political will of Augustus, the most important single inscription bearing on the history of the Roman Empire. After an eventful history, in which the monument was used as a fortress (destroyed in 1167) and its site later utilized as a garden, and still later as a bull ring and a circus, the ruins, today concealed by mean houses, are surmounted by a popular concert hall. Here gather for merry

entertainment hundreds who have not the slightest suspicion that they are sitting over the ruins of a structure that held the mortal remains (long since scattered) of the imperial family from the young Marcellus to the Emperor Nerva.

Aside from the objects, structures, and areas omitted from this discussion because of existing remains deemed sufficient to show their former state, there are various parts of the city which have undergone great changes, both in what they have lost and in what they have added, such as the seven hills, the Velabrum, the Forum Boarium, and the Transtiber district. *Ab uno disce omnes*. There is no part of the city of Rome so unlike its ancient self, no part of which the average visitor knows so little (or for that matter the guide, on whom the visitor wastes both time and money) as the Campus Martius. Moreover, since the designation usually presents to students only the conception of a place for military and athletic exercises and this not always definitely located, it seems well here to state a few facts about this area and the long succession of changes that it has undergone.

As to territory, the Campus Martius originally embraced all the level ground between the slopes of the Capitoline, the Quirinal, the Pincian, and the Tiber, an area of nearly 600 acres, which extended over one and one-quarter miles between the Capitoline and the Flaminian gate, and somewhat more than a mile east and west at its maximum width between the extreme point of the Quirinal and the Tiber. Later other names for smaller sections came into use. And after Augustus' division of the city into fourteen districts, the name was restricted to that part which lay west of the Via Lata (Flaminian way), the modern Via del Corso. Originally the Campus Martius was not within the city. As a whole it was not included until the Aurelian wall was built. A confirmation of this statement appears in the fact that it was not lawful to bury within the city, whereas the tombs of the illustrious dead, still bordering both sides of the Flaminian road as late as the time of Augustus, were among the most striking monuments with which it was embellished. The district originally contained several swamps or ponds as well as streams, the largest

of which came from a spring on the Quirinal and flowed into the spot where later were the baths of Agrippa. In the northwest part there were traces of volcanic activity and a pool fed by hot springs; and at least a part of the plain was wooded, for we know of two groves. Being outside the Servian wall and exposed to floods, it did not receive buildings until a drainage system caused the marshes to disappear. Then the great area, except for the green spaces in the northwest, which for centuries remained the playground of Rome, was filled with the most extensive and magnificent groups of public buildings in Rome. Private houses did not begin to be built in the Campus Martius before the time of the Empire; and, if we except the Flaminian Circus of 221 B.C., no public building of any note was erected there prior to Pompey's theater of 55 B.C.

The history of this famous tract presents a series of striking contrasts: From the earliest times it served as a pasture for sheep and cattle; next, it was cultivated as a grain field by the Tarquins; then it was used as a parade ground of the great military republic and as a grass-covered place for athletic exercises, the proximity of the Tiber rendering it peculiarly suitable for physical exercises before the establishment of the public baths; it served also during the Republic as a place of assembly for citizens in their military capacity as an army and in their civil capacity as the *Comitia Centuriata*; later it became a region of architectural wonders, growing to splendor through the combined efforts of wealthy citizens and enterprising rulers, from the time of Pompey the Great and Augustus and his friends to that of Alexander Severus. All the district except the northwest section was covered with splendid buildings, among the most wonderful structures of the city, temples (nineteen built prior to the battle of Actium, 31 B.C.), theaters, porticoes, baths, a circus, an amphitheater, a stadium, obelisks, mausolea, etc., forming an almost uninterrupted group of public monuments.

Great also were the changes that later befell the Campus Martius. With the decline of the city following the barbarian invasions, the rapidly dwindling population, for economic reasons,



pressed more and more into this restricted area, which continued to be the main part of Rome until the developments of, and following, the nineteenth century. Its poverty-stricken, squalid inhabitants of the mediaeval and latter centuries found their condition improved when this district, as others, was raised from its forlorn and ruinous state by the Popes of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Even so it was a veritable network of mean and filthy streets, closely surrounding wretched hovels, huge palaces, and innumerable churches of every size and description. Today it is still covered with a dense mass of houses and shops, reached by generally narrow and tortuous streets, and is withal one of the most densely populated parts of Rome. If we except the Pantheon, the temple of Hadrian (incorporated in the modern Bourse), and the theater of Marcellus, there remains in this whole area scarcely a visible fragment of those splendid edifices that were once the city's pride. Vanished completely and generally forgotten is that handiwork of men who were Rome's leaders in peace and in war, men who reared the stately fabric of her government and civilization and exercised the authority of a sovereign state which, edging out foot by foot from the city's walls, finally covered practically the entire ancient world.

## THE DESCENT OF GRAMMAR <sup>1</sup>

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The wording of my theme, "The Descent of Latin Grammar," demands a preview of its ascent or origin; and a search for this leads us into the kindergartens. For according to Tacitus the battles of Latin Grammar were won in the nursery schools of Rome. All the children of a household were entrusted to an elderly and honored kinswoman; and the molding of speech was her charge equally with the molding of *mores* — a task shared with the mother. As the young Roman grew in mental stature, this art of speech became his inherent possession and not a borrowing to be adjusted when public speech or the written page was to be attempted. Thus the Latin language grew, although "the study of Grammar [as says Suetonius] was not even attempted at Rome in early days, much less held in any esteem." About 170 B.C., however, a Greek scholar from Mallos, Crates by name, came to Rome on a political mission; who, whether unaccustomed to the devices of a progressive western city, or a dean of the absent-minded profession, fell into a sewer on the Palatine and broke his leg. The sewers of Rome have done much for the advancement of classical learning. This Crates was head of the school at Pergamum, then a center of culture; he was a lover of books, and he was a distinguished Homeric scholar. Returning good for evil, during the time of his convalescence, from his couch he gave extension courses in philology and grammar and established a precedent for calling foreign lecturers. Roman teach-

<sup>1</sup> Read at the annual meeting of the Classical Association of New England, April 2, 1932, in Worcester, Mass.

ers quickly accepted his system, interpreting to their hearers Greek and Roman writings. Already Livius Andronicus, needing a Latin text with literary associations, had translated the *Odyssey* into the vernacular. Soon Ennius and Naevius and in time Lucilius were thus read publicly on days appointed and to thronged houses. In this period the questions, if any, were asked by the student, and answered by the instructor. So by alternating steps literature and grammar ascended until, with the works of Cicero before them, with a language matured and mastered, the professional grammarians stepped in to show how it had been done.

In the very etymology of the word *grammaticus* this fundamental idea is held: That one who has mastered letters, i.e., has really learned to read and really learned to write, is then the master of his own education; and so in early Rome, as in the mediaeval universities, they called the interpretation of literature by the name of grammar. Nepos defined the *grammaticus* as one who could write or speak on his subject accurately, clearly, and with authority. Rhetoric, the art of persuasive speech, was a utilitarian aftermath, a vocational training which too soon menaced the genuine art.

Suetonius' account of the early grammarians in Rome is a good bit of reading — a Spoon River Anthology of Who Was Who in Roman education. In twenty-two trenchant and unsparing little biographic epitaphs he immortalizes the academic eccentrics of early Rome beginning with Lucius Aelius, called also Stilo, because he wrote great men's speeches for them. He was the teacher of Cicero, of Lucilius, and of Varro — that Varro in whose *Lingua Latina* we have the earliest extant writings on Latin Grammar and in whose *Disciplinarum Libri Novem* were defined the seven liberal arts, the trivium and the quadrivium of long routine. These pioneer *grammatici* deserve an epic catalogue; for they were the centers of many an eddying interest in literature, and they were our own academic forbears. Some were preceptors in eminent homes, members of that long procession of distinguished tutors which began with Aristotle and continued

with scarcely less distinction through the Renaissance. I cannot bear to pass them by without mentioning Caecilius Epirota, first interpreter of Vergil; and Verrius Flaccus, tutor in the Augustan home, who used to stimulate lagging interest by the prize of *liber aliquis antiquus, pulchrior aut rarior*; and Gaius Melissus, who relieved academic monotony by compiling a joke-book; and the birchful Orbilius; and Marcus Pomponius Marcellus, who foreshadowed our century by beginning life as a boxer and ending it as an interpreter of the poets.

The penultimate name in the list of Suetonius is a distinguished one — the name of a man who made Rome grammar-conscious and, as Juvenal tells us with suspicious warmth, brought the ladies scurrying to scan his list of solecisms to find what a well-subdued husband should not say. This man was Palaemon, author of the first exclusively scholastic treatise in Latin Grammar. His list of solecisms was a new element, thereafter a convention among grammarians. Beginning with Palaemon, published grammar diverges from the philological and linguistic tomes of the Varronian type into practical manuals for the use of students. Doubtless the great expansion of the empire and the increase of the non-Latin population in Rome stimulated this impulse. The chattiness of Aulus Gellius makes us feel at home in the second century of our era; and in a hundred of his reported conversations we hear the note of interest in the common speech, in etymology, orthography, pronunciation, and lexicography. Not the least achievement of imperial Rome lay in preserving the integrity of the Latin language against the moving tides of a migrating world. At the opening of the third century Roman citizenship was extended to all free inhabitants of the Empire. Two centuries earlier, the pugilist-pedagogue, Pomponius, had retorted to Tiberius that the emperor could give citizenship to men but not to words. Now hosts of strange words from Spain and Sardinia, from Asia and the Po Valley, from Egypt and Bithynia, came besieging the capital, demanding citizenship; Latin words that had gone into the provinces returned in outlandish uniform; and the guards who manned the walls of Rome against

the encroaching barbarians were the unsung grammarians, defending the speech of Romulus. The word *barbarismus*, scarcely known before the time of Augustus, now joins *solecismus* as a part of grammatical provender: *solecismus*, an error in syntax; *barbarismus*, a fault in the word itself.

The industry in making manuals of Latin Grammar, running through various productions in the third century, came to a great success in the fourth, in the work of Aelius Donatus, whose name was to stand for the Art of Grammar for a thousand years, until an elementary student was known as a *Donatista*, and in more than one vernacular a *donet* or *donat* meant a schoolboy's task. But I speak things too well known. The famous text of Donatus is short; fifty pages will comprise it. The first part, the *Ars Minor*, the accepted elementary text until the twelfth century, is less than a dozen pages. It contains a section for each part of speech, divided into two paragraphs — a series of questions and answers followed by brief exposition. This catechetical device, which relieved both questioned and questioner from any compulsion to thought, appears also in Maximus Victorinus, a contemporary of Donatus. It continued to reappear in succeeding Latin grammars; and in time it developed on the one side into a conversational method, as in *Es Tu Sclolaris?* and the *Colloquies* of Corderius. Considering the churchly relations of grammar, can we not see another branch flower in the *Shorter Catechism*? It was of course a mnemonic device; but it brings us into the era where the instructor asks the questions, and the student answers them by rote. In the *Ars Maior*, Donatus treats the earlier subjects more fully and plunges into *Barbarismus*, *Solecismus*, and figures of speech.

Donatus was followed in the sixth century by Priscian, who crowned the making of Latin grammars with the great work which survives in more than a thousand manuscripts, and appalls our modern minds with its two great and sturdy volumes. But the procedure of his text is followed to our day. He gives us in order the letter, the alphabets, Latin and Greek, the syllable, the word, the parts of speech, and speech itself. He is exceedingly



rich in illustrative passages from the Latin writers, especially the poets. Opening him at random, on a page discussing the word *nemo* we find Lucilius, Plautus, Titinius, Terence, Vergil, and Horace; again, and the page shows Cicero twice, Vergil twice, Lucan, Juvenal, and four passages from Statius. One could not learn Priscian, to whom grammar was still the watchful handmaid of literature, without storing his mind with the great pagan writers; and this the church fathers logically deplored. So a certain Smaragdus (from the Emerald Isle?) rewrote Donatus, taking his illustrative passages from Holy Writ, then in the dubious Latin of the Vulgate, as the Venerable Bede had tried using excerpts from the Christian poets. These productions were transient, as were similar efforts at the court of Charlemagne; and time fails me to speak of Cassiodorus and Isidore and Alcuin and Aldhelm and Martianus Capella. Yet Priscian remained the steadfast henchman of the Latin authors, and by his frequent citations of Greek even helped to keep alive the Hellenic language until the day of its restoration. And as for the Church, *Priscian and Grammar* were in the twelfth century put to adorn a doorway in the cathedral at Chartres.

But from that century Priscian had a foe more alert and aggressive than the patristic Christians. He was being elbowed from his place in education by a coalition of Dialectic, Law, and the *Ars Dictaminis*. Again the vocational was threatening the cultural. Conservative schools were holding fast what they regarded as fundamental, while the universities promoted professional training. In the thirteenth century when Paris was the citadel of Logic, and Orleans a stronghold of the classics, Henri d'Andeli wrote:

Paris and Orleans are at odds.  
It is a great loss and a great sorrow  
That the two do not agree.  
Do you know the reason for the discord?  
It is because they differ about learning . . . .

However, Logic has the students  
Whereas Grammar is reduced in numbers.

Grammar is much wrought up  
And has raised her banner  
Outside of Orleans, among the grain;  
There she assembled her army.  
Homer and old Claudian,  
Donatus, Persius, Priscian,  
Those good author knights  
And those good squires who serve them  
All set out with Grammar  
When she went forth from her bookcase.

And later:

Priscian had two nephews  
Who were very handsome and brave,  
Sir Graecismus and Sir Doctrinale.

Since human endeavor progresses by a series of failing experiments, new ideas in education must be tried as promising the progressive; and twelfth-century "progress" demanded that Donatus and Priscian and the study of grammar as literature be displaced. Hence Priscian's "nephews." Among many attempts at a new grammar, the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villedieu, a Norman from the University of Paris, and the *Graecismus* of Eberard of Bethune, in Flanders, attained popularity — a popularity enhanced by the fact that they were in metrical form. In the first century Caesius Bassus and Terentianus Maurus had both written grammatical works in meter. In many mediaeval texts this device had been used for the main rules. The modern use of rhyme and rhythm as an aid to memory, noticeably frequent in British texts, has a long heritage.

The *Doctrinale* in its first printed form numbers 253 pages. In the academic custom of its time each page consists of two parts, as it were the text and glosses. The metrical text has 2645 hexameter lines — rather more than three books of Vergil. The greater part of the page is filled with commentary. Page 1 begins with one hexameter, followed by five lines of exegesis, not because there is anything to explain, but that the system be preserved. An innovation is the method of addressing the student directly — a method which grows more pronounced in succeed-

ing texts. There is the expression of the author's attitude toward other texts and text-makers which continues to add relish to the game of European scholarship; this book, e.g., will well replace the *Nugae* of Maximian which the students have been reading. Page after page illustrates the relation between education and the Church, until, with a fine disregard of vocative forms, the author concludes:

*Doctrinale dei virtute iuvante peregi.  
Grates reddo tibi, Genitor Deus, et tibi, Christe,  
Nate dei deus atque tibi deus halitus almus,  
Quae tres personas in idem credo deitatis.*

"Now by the grace of God I have finished the whole *Doctrinale*. Thanks I return unto Thee, Father God, and to Thee, my Redeemer, God, and God-born; and again unto Thee, Holy Spirit; These three whom I believe to exist as one in the godhead."

A student could scarcely question the syntax of so devout a grammar. Though we find fault with it today, it not only had a great vogue in its own time, but after its *editio princeps* (Rome, 1488) it ran through 267 printings in a hundred years.

Its rival, the *Graecismus* (1212) was scarcely less popular. It was named from an innovation — a chapter on Greek derivations. The chapter unfortunately goes far to illustrate the period's conspicuous ignorance of that language. This text also is in meter, hexameter and elegiac — 4620 lines, the equivalent of six books of Vergil. It is without commentary. The illustrative passages in these grammars had to be borrowed from the poets; and it occurs to me that this may account for the apparent popularity of certain epic poets whom we are loath to praise. The *Graecismus* ends:

*Explicit Ebrardi Graecismus nomine Christi.  
Qui dedit alpha et o sit laus et gloria Christo.*

The "alpha et o," displeasing to our ear from one who poses as a Greek, may be of ecclesiastical origin. It is familiar to us in the fourteenth-century Christmas carol, *In Dulci Jubilo*.

Undoubtedly these grammars did not appear without precursors. The work, e.g., of Petrus Helias (Pierre Élie) (*ca.*

1150) was widely influential. But the *Doctrinale* and the *Graecismus* continued the two great texts of the new Grammar until the fifteenth century. Early in that century, Lorenzo Valla, in his *Elegantiae Linguae Latinae*, both voiced protest against the barbarous Latin of the time, and displayed the forgotten beauties of the Latin tongue. Influenced by this and trained in the great school of the humanities, Vittorino's "Pleasant House" at Mantua, new grammarians arose with the old and simple ideas of grammar and education. After a rather bungling attempt by Omnibonus Leonicensus (Ognibene da Lonigo), printed in the first press of Padua in 1473, comes the first modern Latin Grammar, the *Rudimenta* of Nicolas Perotti, professor at Bologna. That rare spot, the Annmary Brown Memorial Library in Providence, has a copy of Leonicensus, and two of Perotti, 1475 and 1476. The second of these is like that prize which Verrius Flaccus used to offer to the grandsons of Augustus, *Liber antiquus, pulchrior et rarior*. The first page is illuminated in red, gold, and blue; cheerful rubrics throughout; no meter. After the alphabet follow Salutation to Virgin, Lord's Prayer, Apostles' Creed. Then comes Perotti's creed: that children must be given the best, but not too fast; for the little folk are like small-necked bottles and if the milk is poured too fast most of it will be lost. The book is question-answer throughout (with no distinction between *quid* and *quod*). Here and there are model examinations. There are many passages from Latin authors. The tone of the book is very personal. Occasionally an explanation is given in the vernacular, French, Italian, or German. One feels the teacher through his text.

Valla's book was read in his own and other countries. In Spain it influenced the making of one of the earliest and most popular of this group of grammars, that of Nebrissensis (Antonio de Lebrija) of Salamanca. The titles are interesting; Perotti called his book the *Rudimenta*; Lebrija, the *Introductiones*. Grammar is descending. In the Prologue to an edition printed by the command of Queen Isabel in parallel columns of Latin and Castilian, Lebrija says:

We are sadly lacking in the knowledge of this language in which are

founded not only our religion and our Christian state, but even the civil and canon law by which we live with equity in the state; and medicine, in which are bound our lives and health; and the knowledge of all the humane arts.

Lebrija's grammar ran through innumerable editions after its first appearance in 1481. He used both meter and prose in his text, which he surrounded with exegesis. One is appalled at the prolixity of his commentary. The 1497 edition has 230 pages of 69 lines each, and about one fourth of the page is text. To the Latin and Greek alphabets he adds the Hebrew. After the Latin declensions he inserts the Greek. He gives the Spanish translation of verb forms.

The use of Lebrija's book was almost immediately required in Spanish universities, where it had a great vogue. But before the end of the century another Latinist, Lucio Marineo the Sicilian, Professor of Poetry and Oratory in the University of Salamanca, when made master of a Palatine School at the court of the Catholic Kings, wrote to Queen Isabel as follows:

Since it pleased your gracious majesty to appoint me to this post . . . I have noticed that the young students whom you so earnestly commended to me are almost entirely lacking in the elements of grammar, and that they stand in great fear of the bulky and prolix volumes of other grammarians. I have therefore thought that they should be led to a liking for the Latin authors, and to the enjoyment of pleasant converse in Latin by a shorter and easier way. So I have composed this *Grammatices Compendia*, in which I have collected the rudiments from the reading of Latin authors. And I have dedicated this little volume to you, because I am persuaded that it will be of benefit to those whose education you hold dear.

This "little volume" is lost, but there is in the British Museum a copy of one similar by the same writer. It was dedicated to the little prince who was to become Philip II of Spain, when he was a child of seven years (1532), and is entitled *Marinei Siculi Grammatica Brevis ac Perutilis*. Even a child might love this beautifully printed little book. With an outside measurement of less than six by four inches, it contains 124 tiny pages, with a maximum of twenty-two lines; and the whole format of the book



is pleasing. This order is followed: the minuscular alphabet; syllabification (they were very "modern" in their methods of teaching to read); majuscular alphabet; *Pater noster*; *Ave Maria gratia plena*; Apostles' creed and other liturgical forms; parts of speech; inflection; and so on. Among fifty-five quotations, the authors most frequent are Vergil, Ovid, Terence, and Quintilian. Many other illustrations are used, familiar and personal. The text includes what the author considers necessary for beginners; more detail they will find in other grammarians, but the greater necessity for them first is that they read much in the Latin authors.

Thus boys are being taught in Italy; thus in Germany. Witness of this in olden time was Quintilian; witness now in Germany is Erasmus. . . . See to it then, I ask, nay I entreat, if you fear the judgment of God, you who teach boys Grammar, that you do not force upon them useless detail; for thus you will spend five years on what they might learn in five months.

A similar reaction appeared in the university of Paris where in 1528 Despauterius (Johann von Pauteren) published a book *Pueris Utilissima et Pernecessaria*. He excuses another new Grammar by saying that since wise men had found the *Doctrinale* unfit for the study of boys, many had attempted to fill its place; he mentions among a dozen the commendable work of Valla, Perotti, and Lebrija; but since none was found without fault he undertakes to make the perfect grammar. Hope springs eternal in the humanist's breast. But the obscurity bewailed in others is increased in himself. He follows the plan of the *Doctrinale*. Hexameter rules, scattered through pages of close print, run to 290 pages of etymology and syntax. His wording of rules is obscure. He tries to correct popular mispronunciations; e.g. *María*. He has difficulties assigning genders to the words for angel, cherub, and seraph. He was popular at Paris for a century in spite of the opposition of Petrus Ramus (Pierre la Ramée), who put out a tiny volume beginning: "If you ask me, Reader, what this Grammar offers beyond all others, I reply: 'It excels in brevity and ease.'" This text contains no meter, no question and answer. It is simple and straightforward throughout.

We have heard from three of the great universities of the century, Bologna, Salamanca, and Paris. Oxford too had not been idle. William Lily's<sup>2</sup> *Brevissima Institutio seu Ratio Grammatices*, . . . *quam solam Regia Maiestas in omnibus scholis profitendam praecipit*, though not printed until 1527, had already been in practical use. It was the great Latin Grammar of England for many generations and is well known today. Lily gives the rules in Latin hexameter but interprets in English. He improved the mechanical arrangement of the page, and this in the paradigms is a valuable mnemonic aid. Notice the trend in titles: Grammar has become *brevissima*.

Now the desire to make the study of Latin easy and appealing becomes epidemic. In central Europe the efforts took the form of dialogues, running from grammatical catechisms into familiar and moral conversations, such as the *Paedologia* in Leipzig, ca. 1520; the *Colloquies* of Corderius, in Geneva, 1564; and the *Es Tu Scolaris?* Some extreme forms of this tendency have later appeared in English publications. In the early nineteenth century, the transmigrating spirit of Gaius Melissus appears in the *Comic Eton Grammar* (1840),<sup>3</sup> where the graceful illumination and heartening rubric of an earlier page are replaced by colored plates, whose comic figures and scenes hope to teach through amusement. In addition to profuse illustration, the frequent aid of meter is invoked, in passages which give us the English pronunciation as well as British customs: as,

*Musa, musae*, The gods were at tea,  
*Musae, musam*, Eating raspberry jam,  
*Musa, musa*, Made by Cupid's mama.  
*Musae, musarum*, Thou Diva dearum.  
*Musis, musas*, Said Jove to his lass,  
*Musae, musis*, Can ambrosia beat this?

And even music is summoned; sing to the tune of "Believe me if, etc.":

<sup>2</sup> Cf. D. S. White, "Humanizing the Teaching of Latin," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* xxv (1930), 507-20. — R. C. F.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Percival Leigh, *Comic Latin Grammar*, edited by C. E. Smith: New York, Dodd, Mead and Co. (1930). — R. C. F.

The gerund of verbs end in *di*, *do*, and *dum*;  
 The supine of verbs are but two;  
 For instance the active which endeth in *um*  
 And the passive which endeth in *u*.  
*Amandi*, of loving, kind reader beware;  
*Amando*, in loving, be brief;  
*Amandum*, to love, if you're doomed, have a care  
 In the goblet to drown all your grief.

Another effort appears in a volume of 335 pages, large print, Picadilly, 1877, *Latin Without Tears*, whose author says in the Foreword:

I was sorry to see little boys so often crying over their Latin lessons, and I thought of this plan of telling them a word a day; and I told the boys to make sentences with them. At breakfast there were shouts of joy on hearing the new words; and there were leaps as well as shouts when running into the drawing room after breakfast to show me the new sentences upon their slates.

This introduction will explain the hilarious quality of the inflections on a random page: First conjugation, Indicative Mood, *Calcere*, to kick:

<i>Calco ranam</i>	I kick the frog
<i>Calcas vaccam</i>	Thou kickest the cow
<i>Agricola capram calcat</i>	The farmer kicks the she-goat
<i>Calcamus balaenas</i>	We kick the whales
<i>Calcatis gallinas</i>	You kick the hens
<i>Ancillae pantheras calcant</i>	Maids kick the panthers.
<i>Calcabam poetam</i>	I was kicking the poet
<i>Calcabas gallinam</i>	Thou wast kicking the hen
<i>Calcabat columbam</i>	He was kicking the dove

I am interested to note that this seems to be the first feminine contribution to Latin Grammar since the early days of Rome, for the compiler of this text is the loving grandmamma of the joyous boys; and I may add for those of you who are of a generation to appreciate it, that she was also author of *The Peep of Day*. Her text was popular enough to be given a French edition.

The moral ideals consciously preached by Latin Grammars

during many centuries are summed up in the Introduction to *Priscianus Nascens*, London, 1660. The author says:

The aim of this book is with the greatest condescensions possible to facilitate the entrance into the Latin tongue, and to make the way into these rich and ample fields as smooth and delightful so useful and beneficial to the student . . . and also to contribute to his future life and conversation in offering such proverbial and sententious passages as, being given in by way of example to the several rules, rooting themselves in his mind and memory, may by an indescribable influence both sow and cherish some few seeds of morality and piety.

Making Grammar youth's moral mentor doubtless persisted from the pagan-Christian controversy. With the passing of this idea we enter the era of Latin Grammar as she is known — or not known — today.

## FATE AND FREEDOM IN GREEK TRAGEDY

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"The strength of Necessity cannot be resisted" (*Prometheus* 105). "From ills given by the gods there is no escape" (*Seven against Thebes* 719). Such is the philosophy of life commonly accepted by critics as the guiding principle of Greek tragedy. The judgment is a natural one to make. Do we not see the characters struggling vainly against fate or heavenly powers that contrive for them disaster?

But helpless pieces of the game He plays  
Upon this Chequer-board of Nights and Days;  
Hither and thither moves, and checks, and slays,  
And, one by one, back in the Closet lays.

Who can forget that Hippolytus was the victim of jealous Aphrodite; Orestes, commanded by Apollo, slew his own mother; Heracles murdered his children when made mad by Hera; and Oedipus, eager above all men to serve his people, yet was destined by God's will to be their plague? And it is not only the plots that indicate this supernatural control of men. In reading the plays we cannot escape the constant repetition of such words as necessity, fate, chance, destiny, and God's purpose. "There is nothing stronger than awful Necessity" (*Helen* 514); "Zeus by ancient Law guides Destiny aright" (*Ae. Suppliants* 673); "Fortune, with constant ebb and flow, casts down and raises high alike the prosperous and wretched" (*Antigone* 1158 f.); "Drift with the changing tides of Fortune" (*Trojan Women* 102); "When was ever a man so ill-fated?" (*Madness of Heracles* 1195). Here, seemingly, is a *leit-motif* that runs through Greek tragedies; in not one of them is the sentiment missing, and in several it is repeated over and over again, the burden voiced by the leading



actors and echoed by chorus and messenger and sometimes by a god who is revealed in person at the end.

So we have neatly labeled Greek tragedy as the drama of determinism. But no one can read Aristotle's *Poetics* without suspecting that this interpretation is a superficial one. The *Poetics* is not a fanciful theory invented by Aristotle; it is a realistic analysis of the plays which Aristotle had seen, a grammar of art based on the living speech of the Athenian theatre. We may credit him with at least as much insight into the meaning of Greek tragedy as later critics have had. Yet in the *Poetics* no mention is made of any such conflict against fate. Instead, the cause of tragedy is attributed to a flaw in the character of the victim: his ignorance, passion, or moral weakness; and the only necessity mentioned is this: that the consequences shall follow as a credible outcome of such traits of character and shall be consistently developed, through cause and effect, to form an organic whole (1453 a, 1451 a, b, 1452 a). To see a virtuous man face unmerited misfortune, says Aristotle, is not tragic, but shocking (1452 b); no good play has used such a situation, or one that relies on mere chance for its outcome. Again, citing *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, he says, "The fact that the oracle for some reason ordered Orestes to go there . . . is outside the plot of the play" (1455 b). In so far as fate or the gods enter the scene, Aristotle apparently considered their part as incidental, without significance in the tragic dénouement; and the only superhuman compulsion which he implied is that of the complete universal structure in accordance with which a man must regulate his life if he is to achieve happiness.

Why, then, did the dramatists make such use of oracular commands, why do the gods seem to intervene so often? Aristotle again gives the answer: dramatists borrowed their plots from the historic legends of the great families of Greece, which were rich in tragic implications. But these stories, going back to early times, were dyed dark with an unquestioning faith in the control of human affairs by ineluctable fate or capricious gods, who played

with men as they would, and whose purposes one could neither understand nor justify. This is the framework on which the fifth-century writers constructed their plots; supernatural intervention and control belonged in the stories and were not expurgated in the new versions.

But if they were not deleted, they were at least modified in many ways. The word *αἰσα*, so commonly used in the *Iliad* as a decree of God or the destiny of a man, occurs rarely in Aeschylus and only four times in all the extant plays of Sophocles and Euripides. *Ἀνάγκη* (necessity) often comes to mean the human necessity to surrender to an opponent's superior force, public opinion, natural desire, or merely death, which is certainly the common fate of us all. *Τύχη* (chance) implies in many instances nothing more than ordinary uncertainty, opportunity, or good and bad luck as we roughly use the terms. *Ἄτη* (doom) is the consequence of *ὑβρις* (presumptuous pride), or simply any bane or pest; Creon calls Antigone and Ismene by the name when they exasperate him (*Antigone* 533). *Μοῖρα* and *τὸ πεπωμένον* (what is allotted) usually mean simply death. *Δαίμων* (the divine power that distributes fortune to men) is as loosely used as *τύχη* to refer to disaster.

It is also important to examine under what circumstances such words are used, and by whom. They do not often affect the choosing of what one should do; they are invoked by a person who fears the consequences of a choice, or, when it turns out badly, conveniently says, "It had to be." All of us have such a tendency to evade our own responsibility. Most often the Chorus, being unable to act themselves, take pleasure in lugubrious references to fate. How irrelevant these comments may be appears in one of the loveliest choral songs, sung to console Admetus after the death of Alcestis (*Alcestis* 962-1005). With A. E. Housman's kind permission, I give his translation:

In heaven-high musings and many,  
Far seeking and deep debate,  
Of strong things find I not any  
That is as the strength of Fate.

Help nor healing is told  
In soothsayings uttered of old,  
In the Thracian runes, the verses  
    Engraven of Orpheus' pen;  
No balm of virtue to save  
Apollo aforetime gave,  
Who stayeth with tender mercies  
    The plagues of the children of men.

She hath not her habitation  
    In temples that hands have wrought;  
Him that bringeth oblation,  
    Behold, she heedeth him naught.  
Be thou not wroth with us more,  
O Mistress, than heretofore;  
For what God willeth soever,  
    That thou bringest to be;  
Thou breakest in sunder the brand  
Far forged in the Iron Land;  
Thine heart is cruel, and never  
    Came pity anigh unto thee.  
Thee, too, O King, hath she taken  
    And bound in her tenfold chain;  
Yet faint not, neither complain:  
The dead thou wilt not awaken  
    For all thy weeping again.  
They perish whom gods begot;  
The night releaseth them not.  
Beloved was she that died  
And dear shall ever abide,  
For this was the queen among women, Admetus, that lay by thy side.

Not as the multitude lowly  
    Asleep in their sepulchres,  
Not as their grave be hers,  
But like as the gods held holy,  
    The worship of wayfarers.  
Yea, all that travel the way  
Far off shall see it and say,  
*Lo, erst for her lord she died,*  
*Today she sitteth enskied;*  
*Hail, lady, be gracious to usward; that alway her honor abide.*

In spite of these solemnly-beautiful sentiments, the audience knows at the time, and the Chorus soon will know, that Heracles is saving Alcestis from death, cheating fate no less than Apollo did previously in winning continued life for Admetus.

Yet we must not paint the picture too brightly. In spite of all our reservations, the deterministic motif does run steadily through Greek plays; and it often seems that the gods, or fate, or chance are the real "masters of the show." What freedom, we may ask, is left for men? Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides suggest four kinds of human choice. By understanding what they are, we shall become acquainted, I believe, with the essential thinking of the dramatists.

# I

First, they say, men who admit that consequences will be determined by powers beyond them, realize that they have no sure means of knowing what those consequences may be and therefore make their decisions on the basis of what seems to them best. We cannot know what Zeus is, let alone the course his judgments will take. In the *Trojan Women* (886) Hecuba prays to Zeus, "Whether thou be the necessity of nature or the intelligence of mankind." Aeschylus, in the *Suppliants*, says that even if Zeus's will falls surely, still "the pathways of his understanding are beyond our searching out . . . in mysterious ways he executes his purposes" (87 ff.). In the *Libation Bearers* (339 ff.), Electra asks, "Is not doom beyond struggling against?" and the Chorus reply that one's lot may turn out to be more favorable. "We look in vain through the tangles of Chance" (*Hippolytus* 1105). Since a man is controlled by Chance and has no clear foreknowledge, why should he fear, asks Jocasta (*Oedipus the King* 977 ff.); let him make the most out of life while he can. Encouraged by this same philosophy, Heracles dares his mighty deeds (*Alcestis* 785 ff.).

There is probably even conflict among the powers above as to how events shall be settled. The Chorus in the *Agamemnon* (1025 ff.) believe that "one purpose ordained of the gods re-

strains another from winning the advantage." In the *Eumenides* (476 ff.) even Athena has to weigh two claims of seemingly equal necessity, and admits that either decision will be unfortunate. "All things are at variance and yield each other place," says Amphitryon (*Madness of Heracles* 104 ff.); we must therefore not despair, but be hopeful. It is this hope, which Prometheus boasts that he planted in the hearts of men, causing them no longer to foresee their fate (*Prometheus* 250 ff.), that leads them to cherish the illusion of free will. "How this shall eventually turn out is the god's concern; your task is to do what is immediately at hand," advise the Chorus in the *Philoctetes* (843 ff.). So Eteocles, although he admits that his father's curse may slay him, if it chance that way, decides that it is best to go forth to fight (*Phoenician Maidens* 765 ff.). When Clytaemnestra argues (*Libation Bearers* 910 ff.) that Fate must share the responsibility for her having killed Agamemnon, Orestes replies curtly, "Then Fate has provided for your death also," and proceeds to give reasons why he should kill her. Since what is to be is unforeseen and so uncertain, we can only act on our own best judgment or most urgent desire, hoping that our decision is the lucky one.

## II

But we are not left altogether in the dark to determine our choice, unaided by admonition from the gods. In general, experience has shown that the Olympians dislike such things as pride, excess, disorder, the lust for power, inhospitality, treachery and cruelty in war, the desecration of temples, because they have visited punishment on men who thus offend. And in particular instances definite warnings have been given through oracles and omens, although it is admitted (especially by Euripides) that the priests and seers who expound these warnings are often unreliable interpreters. But if the gods give such advice, they do not compel men to heed it. The wages of disobedience is ruin, but we are permitted to choose whether or not to obey.

We may instance Agamemnon, who of his own free will de-



cided to sacrifice Iphigenia, hardening his heart in order to avoid popular resentment and win a war, and later agreed to walk on the purple carpet, preferring heaven's displeasure to any further argument with his wife. Xerxes in his presumptuous pride dared to insult the gods of Greece. Adrastus gave way to his soldiers' jingoism, disregarding an oracle. Laius was told that if he should have a son that son would kill him; his resolve, say the Chorus in the *Seven against Thebes* (842 ff.) "was made in disobedience and took its course; the warnings of heaven do not lose their edge." Paris also was spared at birth, in spite of the prophecy that he would bring about Troy's downfall. Oedipus, after he had been warned that he would slay his father, followed his rash impulse in murdering an old man at the crossroads, and later, truculent, suspicious, and inflexibly confident of his own sufficiency, refused to respect the feelings of Tiresias and Jocasta. The arrogant pride of Ajax as a fighter led to his death, that of Pentheus as a lawmaker and moralist brought him low. Even Theseus, usually reverent and sober-minded, caused the death of Hippolytus, Artemis says, by cursing him too hastily (*Hippolytus* 1323 f.).

On the other hand, the gods aid men who, of their own steady judgment, choose to act well. "God loves to help the man who works to help himself," says Aeschylus (Fragment 223). In *Iphigenia among the Taurians* (908 ff.), Pylades says, "Wise men take advantage of opportunity, not letting Fortune slip." Orestes replies, "Now Fortune will, I think, be our ally. If one strives zealously, God's strength is properly enlisted the more on his behalf." And the outcome justifies his confidence.

Throughout Greek tragedy the sentiment is clear — men are warned what to avoid but are free to choose as they will. Those who give way to their own weakness are at least accomplices of the gods in the resulting calamity.

### III

There is, however, a more difficult problem of choice to face. It sometimes happens that the gods or fate are apparently op-

posed to the standards of right and wrong which the best-intentioned and supposedly wisest of human beings cherish. Then, say the tragedians, we are not free to escape our destiny; but we are at least free, knowing the consequences, to decline the possibility of avoiding them by compromise. We can choose to save our own integrity. Prometheus realized the superior power of Zeus and the inevitable penalty but none the less defied the orders of a jealous and pitiless god; accepting his punishment, he refused to call it just. He found, like Omar, exhilaration in asserting his self-respect.

Nay, but for terror of His wrathful face  
I swear I will not call Injustice Grace.

Why should the Trojan Women suffer? They, too, must bear an undeserved fate, but Hecuba voices their moral victory over circumstance when she says, "The good man is good, nor is his native quality ever destroyed by misfortune, but always preserves its value" (*Hecuba* 597 f.). Heracles is forced by Hera to kill his children; but when Theseus tells him that a man who bears the blows of heaven without flinching is nobly-born, he replies (*Madness of Heracles* 1227 f.), "I shall be no coward." Theseus gives similar advice to the Argive suppliants; meeting the wrongs of fortune, he says, we can in any event choose to be self-composed (*Suppliant Maidens* 555 ff.). Cassandra is certainly morally superior to Apollo, her persecutor, when she casts the insignia of her prophetic office away; and the compassion of Theseus and the dying Hippolytus for each other should have made Aphrodite blush.

#### IV

We have thus far found three kinds of choice open to men who, nevertheless, realize that the consequences are controlled by superhuman powers. But in certain plays the sense of even this ultimate determinism grows dim and largely or totally irrelevant; characters come more and more to disregard the fact that the gods and fate exist; in choosing what course they shall follow they act on the basis of human propriety and probability.

Sometimes the element of destiny enters the scene, but merely as a partial factor linked up with justification on grounds of social policy. In the *Libation Bearers* (297 ff.), for instance, Orestes speaks to this effect: "Apollo bids me kill my mother. But even if I didn't trust his oracle, I'd do it anyway. My keen grief for my father and my eagerness to remove from the city the shame of being ruled by Aegisthus would lead me to do it." In Euripides' *Orestes* (564 ff.) he further vindicates the murder, arguing that it will serve as a salutary warning to all the wives of Greece not to slay their husbands. In the *Children of Heracles* (236 ff.) Demophon justifies his receiving the suppliants on three grounds; the first is his respect for Zeus, but then he adds the ties of kinship and his indignation that Athens should submit to dictation from Argos.

More often than we perhaps appreciate the choice is made quite regardless of superhuman considerations; especially in the plays of Sophocles and Euripides, men frankly follow their own judgment in deciding what to do. Who will say that the strife between Medea and Jason and between Antigone and Creon is more than a conflict of human wills? No superior power constrained Jason to abandon Medea or Medea to execute her revenge. It was Creon's sense of duty to the state and his masculine egoism that conflicted with Antigone's stubborn devotion to her dead brother. Alcestis freely chose to save her husband's life at the cost of her own: "I die for you when it was possible for me to live" (*Alcestis* 284). Iphigenia in the *Iphigenia at Aulis* and Menoeceus in the *Phoenician Maidens*, under no compulsion, divine or human, gave their lives in willing sacrifice for their people's good. Electra acted upon no mandate from Apollo; her own conscience bade her avenge Agamemnon. Ajax willed his own death, to avoid shame. Philoctetes is reproached for his obstinacy; "It is you, you, who chose this," say the Chorus (*Philoctetes* 1095 ff.); "this fortune comes from no outside source nor from one stronger than you are; for when you were free to choose wisely, you rejected good fortune and accepted worse." Neoptolemus adds (1316 ff.), "What fortunes the gods give men

they must bear, but men who cling to self-inflicted griefs, as you do, no one can rightly excuse or pity." Macaria exulted in her voluntary sacrifice; Andromache chose to die in place of her son. Eurystheus, after the death of Heracles, acted upon no divine command but strictly on grounds of self-interest when he planned the murder of Heracles' children; this he frankly admitted when he came to judgment before his enemies. And in the *Bacchae*, the most spectacular of all Greek tragedies, no god forced Pentheus to oppose Dionysus, whom he thought to be only a priest; the king's devotion to his people's welfare dictated his conduct, which was independent and courageous, even if short-sighted. Commenting upon it, Tiresias shrewdly declared: "I do not speak prophecy when I say that Pentheus will fall. I am judging from his senseless actions" (*Bacchae* 368).

Such instances might be multiplied at length. Those which I have cited are perhaps sufficient to indicate what the Athenian dramatists did. They took the old stories, in which heaven and fate played so important a rôle; they made perhaps a concession to popular opinion by preserving in the pattern the threads of divine intervention. But their own thinking went beyond this facile acceptance of determinism. They were primarily concerned with probing into the consequences of human purposes in conflict, with tracing the catastrophes of human choice. What men desire to do, will to do, reason they are right in doing, this seemed to them more than anything else exciting and significant. Greek drama was, it is true, concerned with fate and with control by the gods; but it was more deeply concerned with the ways of men, the failures and the achievements of human freedom.

## Notes

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent directly to Roy C. Flickinger, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.]

### ILLITERACY IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

In the CLASSICAL JOURNAL of last June (xxviii, 670) Mr. Schneider makes quite clear that illiteracy was the rule rather than the exception at Oxyrhynchus in the third century. Though he words his remarks cautiously, one may easily draw the inference that illiteracy was general throughout the Roman World. But we must not overlook the contrary evidence from Roman Britain, which is most striking and interesting, as set forth by Haverfield in discussing the town of Calleva (Silchester) <sup>1</sup>:

The speech of ordinary conversation is equally well attested by smaller inscribed objects, and the evidence is remarkable, since it plainly refers to the lower class of Callevans. When a weary brickmaker scrawls SATIS (enough) with his finger on a tile, or some prouder spirit writes CLEMENTINVS FECIT TVBVL(um) (Clementinus made this box-tile); when a bit of Samian is marked FVR (thief), presumably as a warning from the servants of one house to those of the next, or a brick shows the word PVELLAM, part of an amatory sentence otherwise lost, or another brick gives a Roman date, the 'sixth day before the Calends of October,' we may be sure that the lower classes of Calleva used Latin alike at their work and in their more frivolous moments. When we find a tile scratched over with cursive lettering — possibly part of a writing lesson — which ends with a tag from the *Aeneid*, we recognize that not even Vergil was out of place here. The examples are so numerous and remarkable that they admit of no other interpretation.

I have heard this conclusion doubted on the ground that a bricklayer or domestic servant in a province of the Roman Empire would not have known how to read and write. The doubt rests on a misconception of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. F. Haverfield, *The Romanization of Roman Britain*<sup>3</sup>: Oxford, Clarendon Press (1915), 30 f.

Empire. It is, indeed, akin to the surprise which tourists often exhibit when confronted with Roman remains in an excavation or a museum — a surprise that “the Romans” had boots, or beds, or waterpipes, or fire-places, or roofs over their heads. There are, in truth, abundant evidences that the labouring man in Roman days knew how to read and write at need, and there is reason to believe that in the lands ruled by Rome education was better under the Empire than at any time since its fall till the nineteenth century.

It has, indeed, been suggested by doubters, that these *graffiti* were written by immigrant Italians, working as labourers or servants in Calleva. The suggestion does not seem probable. Italians certainly emigrated to the provinces in considerable numbers, just as Italians emigrate today. But we have seen above that the emigrants of the Imperial age were not labourers, as they are to-day. They were traders, dealers in land, money-lenders, or other “well-to-do” persons. The labourers and the servants of Calleva must be sought among the native population, and the *graffiti* testify that this population wrote Latin.

Is the seeming contradiction between the facts reported for Egypt and Britain to be explained by the fact that Britain was thoroughly Romanized, while Egypt, with its Greek culture (in this case, lack of culture), resisted the Roman influence in education as it did in language? Is the Roman culture for once superior to the Greek in that it gave a large number of people the ability to read and write? Or will someone rise up to say that the general spread of this ability is not a blessing but an evil in spite of the fact that the cardinal principle of our modern educational system is to abolish illiteracy?

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#### CAESAR, *DE BELLO GALLICO* VII, 33

Caesar here tells the circumstances of his going among the Haeduans to settle a dispute as to which of two claimants was their chief magistrate. He cites one of his reasons for going to the Haeduans rather than calling the claimants to him as follows: *Quod legibus Haeduorum iis qui summum magistratum obtinerent excedere ex finibus non liceret*; “because in accordance with the laws of the Haeduans those who held the highest office were



not allowed to leave the country." This passage is of interest because at the close of the World War in our own America there was great disapproval of President Wilson's leaving America to go to Versailles to attend the Peace Conference. In fact President Wilson has been the only President to leave the American continent during his term of office.

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### SALLUST, *BELLUM CATILINAE*

Sallust at the end of the fifty-fourth chapter of his *Bellum Catilinae* discusses Cato's character. He concludes by saying: *Esse quam videri bonus malebat; ita, quo minus petebat gloriam, eo magis illum adsequebatur*; "he preferred to be good rather than to seem good; thus the less he sought glory, the more it pursued him." We are reminded of our own modern, modest hero, Col. Lindbergh, who tried, and is still trying, to avoid publicity and honors but is honored and praised the more because of his retiring nature.

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### A MISINTERPRETATION IN REGARD TO SENECA'S SON

Two children were born to Seneca and his wife, both mentioned in the *Ad Helviam* II, 5: *Intra vicesimum diem, quam filium meum in manibus et in osculis tuis mortuum funeraveras, raptum me audisti*; and XVI, 4: *Ab his ad nepotes quoque respice: Marcum blandissimum puerum*. One son certainly died just before Seneca went into exile in A.D. 41, about twenty days previous, as most writers agree. A few people, however, have followed a misinterpretation based on the strange rendering, which I have not found earlier than in the article on Seneca in De-Vit's *Onomasti-*

*con.* In that place the boy is represented as being only twenty days old when he passed away, certainly an erroneous interpretation of the passage in the *Ad Helviam*. De-Vit ("L. A. Seneca," *Onomast.* p. 308) says: *Ex hac duos suscepit filios: horum prior in manibus Helviae matris, infra vicesimum vitae diem, obiit.* But note that Seneca said, as quoted above, that his mother heard of his exile within the twentieth day after burying his son. The new edition of the *Onomasticon* by J. Perin (Padua, 1913) mentions two wives and the two sons, but omits reference to the son's death (Vol. I, p. 124, s. v. "Annaeus").

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#### ODYSSEUS AND SINBAD THE SEAMAN

In the *Thousand and One Nights*, the stories of Sinbad the Seaman furnish some interesting parallels to the adventures of Odysseus. The third voyage of Sinbad especially reminds us of Odysseus' adventures with the Cyclops.<sup>1</sup> The ship on which Sinbad was sailing was driven upon the Mountain of the Zughb, an island inhabited by a hairy, apelike race. These despoiled the sailors of their ship and left them stranded on the island. After some days Sinbad and his companions found a castle which was inhabited by "a huge creature in the likeness of a man, black of color, tall and big of bulk, as he were a great date-tree, with eyes like coals of fire and eye-teeth like boars' tusks, and a vast big gape like the mouth of a well." This description reminds us of Polyphemus. Sinbad the Seaman, who relates the story to Sinbad the landsman as Odysseus relates his story to Alcinous, tells how the giant picked up his companions one by one, and felt them over as one feels over a chicken, and then choosing the fattest, set his foot on his neck and brake it, after which he fetched a long spit. Then, lighting a fierce fire, he set over it the spit with the Rais [the dead man] thereon, and turned it over the coals till the flesh was roasted. Then he tore the body, limb from limb as one jointeth a chicken, and,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *The Arabian Nights' Entertainment*, translated by Richard F. Burton and edited by Bennett A. Cerf: New York, The Modern Library (1932), 384-94.

rending the flesh with his nails, fell to eating it and gnawing the bones, till there was nothing left but some of those, which he threw on one side of the wall.

This is reminiscent of the feast of the Cyclops, who ate two men at a time uncooked, bones and all. Then "he lay down on the stone bench and fell asleep, snarking and snoring like the gurgling of a lamb or cow with its throat cut." This reminds us of the drunken sleep of the Cyclops. It is interesting to note that in both stories the giant feasts three times upon the men before they bring retribution on him and also that in both stories he sleeps after his feast until dawn.

The revenge of the sailors in both cases is also similar. Sinbad relates:

As soon as we were assured that he slept, we arose and taking two iron spits of those standing there heated them in the fiercest of the fire, till they were red-hot like burning coals, when we gripped fast hold of them and going up to the giant, as he lay snoring on the bench, thrust them into his eyes and pressed upon them, all of us, with our united might, so that his eyeballs burst and he became stone blind. Thereupon he cried with a great cry, whereat our hearts trembled, and behold the earth shook under us, for the noise of the roaring.

Sinbad and his companions then fled to the shore where they had previously prepared a boat, but the giant and two others like him followed them. Sinbad relates, ". . . they cried out at us and running down to the sea-shore, fell apelling us with rocks, whereof some fell amongst us and others fell into the sea. We paddled with all our might till we were beyond their reach, but the most part of us were slain by the rock-throwing."

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#### CLASSICA SONANTO!

Cum maxime comprobem omnia quae scripsit Carolus Gaenssle de lingua Latina, vellem tamen lectores exhortando ita excitasset ut hoc ipsi gestis suis confirmarent: eam non modo vigere sed etiam loqui posse.

O magistri ludorum, qui tam diu apologiam canitis, qui iam

diu cum fautoribus utilitatis luctamini et eis conamini persuadere eam linguam, ne ex scholis tota eiciatur, etiam nunc pueris puellisque utilem esse, bono estote animo. Ut enim here fautores isti studiorum utilium classica studia, si non ex scholis prorsus eicere, infirmare certe conabantur: his diebus discipulis deesse tempus ad res ediscendas colendasque quaestui haud consentaneas, ita hodie argumenta eorum licet in dubium devocare; ut tunc eorum aggredi, vestrum defendere, ita nunc vestrum aggredi, eorum defendere. Qui mehercule istis ducibus magistrisque iuvenes sunt instituti, ipsis iam viris rem publicam administrantibus ea ita laborat nutatque ut nunquam antehac. Quid iam cessatis? Vosne ut istis fautoribus utilitatis quasi loco inferiore nati ad res inferiores usque cedatis? an istos ad eum locum repellatis quem olim obtinebant? Agite dum, studia humana promovete. Praesto certe vobis adest opportunitas. Hac non utemini? Hanc reicietis? Immo carpite diem!

At vos quorum doctrina instituti sunt administratores et rei publicae et negotiorum, nonne facti pudet? Nonne vos, per deos immortalis, piget in gyrum tam exilem, tam exiguum coegisse ingenia vestrorum discipulorum uti res amplas ratione complecti nequeant? Eis solum suppeditavisse instrumenta quibus levia tenuiaque administrent? Nos tanta laborantis labe rerum quanta alias nunquam fuit illis ducibus evadere nescire?

Iam iam mehercule eo acceditur impudentiae ac temeritatis ut et algebram a scholis amovere velint quod ad quaestum non spectet.

Aequone tandem vos animo, qui litteras humanas colitis, usque patiemini vestros alumnos a vetere disciplina quae non imprimis ad utilitatem spectat sed potius ingenia atque animos hominum ad beatam vitam illam quidem philosophorum informat seiungi? omnibus studiis liberalibus carere? tantum ad vitam ieiunam, rebus amplis orbam, barbaram, immanem institui? Immo, exsurgite, nolite diutius cessare! Quin ad pugnam accincti hostis aggredimini atque tempore opportuno victoriam reportaveritis.

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HECTOR'S LAST WORDS, *ILIAD* XXII, 358-60

The words of the dying Hector to Achilles, "Take heed ere it is too late, lest I bring on thee some vengeance of the gods' wrath on thy day of doom, when Paris and Phoebus Apollo slay thee, great warrior though thou art, at the Scaean Gates," are commonly taken to mean, "If you do not give my body back for burial but throw it to the dogs, the gods will be angry and will punish you by permitting Paris and Apollo to slay you." This is at least the interpretation of Düntzer, Faesi, Finsler, van Leeuwen, Cauer, and Herkenrath (*Der Ethische Aufbau der Ilias und Odyssee*: Paderborn, F. Schöningh [1928], 156); Leaf is silent. It seems an impossible interpretation in view of both the sentence structure — since the death of Achilles is mentioned in a subordinate clause — and the facts.

The similarities in the accounts of the death of Patroclus and the death of Hector are recognized. In both accounts the dying man speaks of his slayer's fate. Patroclus definitely prophesies Hector's death: "Thy fate is near; thou shalt be slain by Achilles" (*Iliad* xvi, 853 f.). This is as it should be, for Hector has no foreboding of immediate death. But Achilles already knows that he is soon to die (xviii, 96), that Apollo will be his slayer (xxi, 278), and that a mortal will take part in slaying him (xix, 417). Therefore vss. 359 f. add to Achilles' knowledge only the exact place of his death, the Scaean Gates — he already knows that he is to die "under the walls of the Trojans" (xxi, 277) — and the name of his mortal slayer, Paris. The addition of these details makes the last words of Hector still more like those of Patroclus (xvi, 849 f.: "My slayers were Leto's son and the mortal Euphorbus"). Achilles is to be slain near where Patroclus died (cf. xxii, 359-60, 365-6), and his slayers are to be a god and a mortal. The poet refuses to permit either his hero or his hero's friend to be vanquished by a Trojan without divine assistance (The assistance of Athena in the death of Hector is negligible. She merely makes Hector face Achilles, as he had originally resolved to do, by causing him to think that the odds are two to one in his favor; Achilles would certainly have killed Hector in

the encounter with swords, even if Athena had not returned his spear to him). Hector's prophecy of Achilles' death, therefore, because it contains nothing essentially new, has little point.

Furthermore, if the prophecy means that Achilles will be slain because of his refusal to permit the burial of Hector, it is false, as no other prophecy is in Homer, for Achilles in the sequel gives back Hector's body and still is to meet the fate which Hector mentions, as we know from xxiv, 93 f. and 105. Therefore the facts as well as the syntax require rather this interpretation: "Take heed lest the gods become wroth with thee for throwing my body to the dogs and permit the outraging of thy body, too, on the day that Apollo and Paris slay thee." This is the interpretation of Ameis-Hentze and Zuretti. It is likewise the only interpretation of the great Hellenistic scholars: Schol. BT, "Lest my death rouse the enmity of the gods against thee, for then thy body will be dragged by the Trojans."

Faesi objects that this interpretation does not fit the reply of Achilles in vss. 365 f., "Lie dead" (i.e., "be content with your own death without mentioning mine"); "I shall die when the immortals will it so." The answer to this objection, I think, is simple. The prophecy in Homer does not produce conviction; otherwise much trouble and disaster would have been avoided—witness the prophecies to Polyphemus, Alcinous, the Suitors, and Hector. Achilles cannot disbelieve Hector's words about his approaching death, for he knows they are true. But, as Hector ignored the prophecy of Patroclus that Achilles would shortly slay him, so Achilles can ignore Hector's warning not to outrage his body. That it is a serious warning Hector makes clear by adding that Apollo, the divine ally who never fails Hector except when fate forbids his aid, will be present and will assist in slaying Achilles. Achilles disregards the chief part of the warning; he replies only to the subordinate part. One might add that it is quite common in Homer for a speaker to reply to the last point in the preceding speech and sometimes to disregard other points or questions; e.g., in *Od.* vii, 241-97 Odysseus replies to the third and second ques-



tions of Arete but disregards the first, "Who are you?"<sup>1</sup> The Homeric manner makes natural the way in which Achilles disregards the warning in Hector's dying words, just as Hector had ignored the dying prophecy of Patroclus.

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#### A NOTE ON ARISTOPHANES, *CLOUDS*, 143-52

Readers of Aristophanes will recall the passage near the beginning of the *Clouds* (vss. 143-52) where one of Socrates' pale-faced disciples (μαθητής) is giving Strepsiades a preliminary insight into some of the Modern Learning. The disciple is speaking:

You must regard all this as a sacred mystery. A while ago Socrates asked Chaerephon how many lengths of its own feet a flea could leap. For one of the creatures, after having bitten Chaerephon on the brow, had leaped and alighted upon Socrates' head.

STREPSIADES. Now how did he measure that?

DISCIPLE. Very cleverly. First he melted some wax and then picked up the flea and dipped its two feet in the wax; and then, as this cooled, Persian slippers formed around the feet. These he unfastened and with them measured off the distance.

Two news items printed in the *New York Herald Tribune* furnish interesting commentary upon this passage. The first, an Associated Press dispatch from Washington, D. C., dated February 8, 1933, reads in part as follows:

The combined efforts of three government departments today produced a decision that a frog could hop five times as far as a flea could jump. A solution to this puzzling question had been sought at the request of C. B. Stanton, of Sand Springs, Okla., in a letter to the Department of the Interior, asking: "How far can a flea jump, also how far can a frog hop? I am serious about this and am not asking for any sporting reasons whatever."

Although the Bureau of Fisheries had not investigated the subject of how much territory a frog could cover in one leap, it turned readily to a book which supplied an answer. So it wrote Stanton that a frog could cover a distance of five or six feet without difficulty, although its normal leap was about three feet. The Bureau of Entomology turned to a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Harvard Stud. in Class. Phil.* xxxi (1920), 40.

pamphlet on "Fleas and Their Control," which it had published in revised form last year. The department learned that an ordinary flea could jump thirteen inches horizontally and seven and three-fourths inches vertically.

The second news note is a United Press dispatch of May 7, 1933, from Mansfield, Ill., and, in part, reads as follows:

William H. Firke, eighty-one years old, one-time "Goose King," whose name has graced menu cards of some of the nation's best hotels, is living quietly on his farm a half mile northwest of here. . . .

He is famous for his many stories of exploits, the best being that about the time he provided a flock [of geese] with shoes in order to march them overland from his farm in Tennessee to a railroad sixty-seven miles away. To protect their feet he conceived the idea of "shoeing" them.

Accordingly, he poured a quantity of pitch tar, heated into a semi-liquid state, onto the floor of his poultry houses. Then he drove his geese into the houses, where they waddled about in the mixture for a few minutes, and then emerged properly "shod" for their long journey.

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## Book Reviews

[Review copies of classical books should be sent to the Editorial Office of the JOURNAL at Columbia, Missouri. Such works will always be listed in the department of Recent Books, and those which seem most important to the readers of the JOURNAL will also be reviewed in this department. The editor-in-chief reserves the right of appointing reviewers.]

B. L. ULLMAN, *Ancient Writing and its Influence* (Our Debt to Greece and Rome Series): New York, Longmans, Green and Company (1932). Pp. vii + 234.

The burden of this volume by Professor Ullman is the history of Roman writing as the ancestor of our English script and type. The author begins with a short preface on the origin of writing, goes on to give the history of our alphabet, says a word on Greek script, and then in several careful and interesting chapters traces Latin script down to the invention of printing. Several chapters are added on abbreviations, the numerals, writing materials, etc. Plates are furnished to illustrate the various scripts.

The book is not simply a popular work made up of generalizations. Sufficient detail of scholarship is given to enable one to acquire an exact, if elementary, knowledge of Latin palaeography and its bearing on our language, literature, and civilization. It gives a new grasp and meaning to the printed page and broadens the knowledge of the classical scholar who is not a palaeographer. It will prove of great interest and value also to one whose special studies have not taken him extensively into the field of ancient learning. The history of the letters of our alphabet from pictures to signs, their order and relative antiquity, how each letter comes to be printed or written as it is, the origin of our abbreviations in English, the exposition of Roman numerals as being originally hand signs, these and a hundred other topics give the book an appeal and an interest which should commend it to any serious student.

It is refreshing to find exact and correct statements on the history of mediaeval learning creeping into books printed in English. To refer to two instances from Ullman — he states (p. 204) that "sometimes on account of the expense or scarcity of writing material, whole manuscripts were erased and a new work was copied on them." To a palaeographer who knows of instances, e.g. Naples A. 8, where a book of the Bible has been erased to make way for other matter, this causes no surprise. But after all the buncombe written in English about the "persecuting spirit which . . . destroyed ancient art and literature wherever it found them,"<sup>1</sup> Ullman makes a welcome, if late, statement of the truth in a book meant for scholars in general. Again, he points out (Chap. X) that humanistic writing was not a sudden revolt against the prevailing Gothic script but a gradual process. And what is true of the writing is also true of the Renaissance itself. When we find a renowned humanist as late as Erasmus looking upon classical studies as a means to equip oneself for sacred science, the traditional view of the Renaissance as a rebellion against the Church and her ecclesiastical studies is proved unwarranted and unhistorical.

Ullman draws a parallel between Gothic architecture and script. Is it not quite possible that Gothic script developed under the influence of Gothic architecture? The inscriptions in Gothic churches would naturally tend to conform to the "broken lines" of the architecture. The two would also tend to conform one to the other in the illuminations. I would suggest that a study from this angle of inscriptions and of illuminations of the twelfth century might show a direct relation of cause and effect.

The statement that "the process of evolution can be illustrated almost as well in the history of the alphabet as in the field of zoölogy" (p. 43) is true only by analogy. The laws of one science cannot be literally applied to another; neither are they of universal application in another science. Ullman forgets this truth and seems to think that every script must necessarily descend from

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. W. Mackail, *Latin Literature*: New York, Chas. Scribner's Sons (1923), 253.

two others. This error leads him to say that half-uncial is "the child of pompous father Capital and the quick, lively, rather slatternly mother Cursive" (p. 78). We are here in the realm of fancy. If Ullman was compelled by the urge to speak in parables, he could have kept his feet on the ground had he gone to the Bible instead of Darwin. His figure of speech would have limped less had he said that only a rib was taken from father Capital and the flesh was filled up for it from the slime of the earth, the lowly Cursive.

I notice, too, (p. 81) that "the development of the national scripts coincides with the beginning of mediaevalism. . . . Education ceased to be secular and became wholly ecclesiastical." Ullman here implies more than he would concede, I dare say. It was also mediaevalism which copied and preserved the most of our classics.

The book is well printed. The only slips I noticed are these: On pp. 75 and 91 the references to the plates are interchanged; in the transcription of plate ix b, p. 86, *Oidilunald* should read *Oidilunald*, and also plate x a, on p. 94, *quantibus* should read *quentibus* (a corruption); and on p. 117 *ariones* is printed for *arionis*.

Several times the word Roman is spelled with a small r. At other times the capital is used. What the author's distinction is I do not see. For instance on p. 56 we find "Roman forms," and on page 74 "the a is in the form used in italics, not roman." The plates are very clear. At the end a brief but useful bibliography follows several pages of notes and references.

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*Homenaje de México al Poeta Virgilio en el Segundo Milenario de Su Nacimiento*: Mexico (1931). Pp. 575.

Authorization of this book by decree of President Ortiz Rubio in June, 1930, reminds us of the long and fascinating tradition of Latin studies in Mexico. Students of the sixteenth century will

remember the sparkling Latin dialogues of Cervantes de Salazar, in which scenes in the infant University of Mexico are so vividly portrayed. Many other documents from the early colonial period demonstrate the active cultivation of Latin letters. In the seventeenth centuries Latin was studied with enthusiasm, particularly by the Jesuits. A fine product of classical training was the Guatemalan poet, Rafael Landívar, who in his Latin poem *Rusticatio Mexicana* described the Mexican countryside after the manner of the Georgics. Of course, it is to be understood that colonial Mexico studied and used Latin not with philological training or with the scientific methods of *Altertumswissenschaft* but as the language of exquisite literary expression, as the universal language of science, and as a companion to theology. With the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 classical studies declined.

The volume now being reviewed represents one step in the modern return to classical studies. More than half of the bulky volume is from the pen of Francisco de P. Herrasti, professor in the National University. Besides two anniversary speeches he has contributed, under the title *Virgilio; su mundo, su obra y sus ideas*, an analysis of the Roman world. To Herrasti Rome represents the ideals of individual liberty and faith (*fides*). Vergil is treated as the man who gave supreme expression to these ideals. Herrasti gives also some examples of his interpretations of Vergilian passages of doubtful meaning, basing his opinion on semantic indications in Spanish. He promises more of this in a future volume.

Mariano Silva y Aceves, in an essay *Virgilio y su poeta mexicano*, compares five Spanish translations of the first book of the *Georgics*, one Mexican and four Castilian, including two versions of the illustrious Fray Luis de León. He draws conclusions concerning Mexican Spanish, more interesting doubtless to the student of Mexican speech than to the Latinist.

The name of the great essayist and thinker, Alfonso Reyes, arrests attention. From Rio Janeiro he sends home to the homage volume a *Discurso por Virgilio*. With no pretense at technical scholarship and even deprecating a little the importance of exten-



sive Latin study in Mexico, he manages to convey in his words some deep spiritual meanings — profound respect for Vergil and Rome, an appreciation of Mexico's scholarly activity of the past and of Icazbalceta's zeal in revealing it, a declaration of the essential Latinity of Mexican culture (despite much recent emphasis upon the Indian element) ; finally, he merges luminously the spirit of the *Georgics* with the modern Mexican revolutionary agrarian movement — a truly beautiful essay.

Pietro d' Argent contributes in Italian a brief statement of Vergil's lesson for moderns. Joaquin Cardoso writes a study of Pollio and Maecenas. Tirso Sáenz publishes a spirited translation of the *Bucolics*, and Felix Martínez Dolz terminates the book with two original poems in honor of Vergil.

Through the whole volume run love and admiration of Vergil as the fountainhead of the poetry of the Latin peoples and appreciation of Vergil's attachment to the countryside.

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DAVID MAGIE, *The Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, with an English Translation, Vols. I-III (Loeb Classical Library) : London, William Heinemann; New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1922, 1924, 1932). Pp. xxxvii + 493; xlv + 485; x + 529. \$2.50, each.

The appearance of the first volume of this work was noted under "Recent Books" in the JOURNAL XVIII (1922), 128. The first volume contains an introduction dealing with the scope and literary character of the *Historia Augusta*, the tradition of the work, the manuscripts, a list of editions and translations, and the lives of the rulers from Hadrian to Clodius Albinus. The second volume contains a long and excellent introduction which deals with the difficult problem of the authorship and date of the *Historia Augusta* and considers carefully all the previous work on the subject. This introduction is followed by a list of books and articles dealing with the problems connected with the *Historia*. Volume II contains the lives of the rulers and pretenders from

Caracalla to Maximus and Balbinus. In the third volume there are several pages of additions to the bibliography, the lives from the two Valerians to Carus, Carinus, and Numerian, and a full Index of Names.

The difficult task of the editor and translator has been performed in a manner that does credit to the series of which the work is a part. The text of the first six biographies has been supplied by Miss Susan H. Ballou of Bryn Mawr College, while the remainder of the work is based on the text of Hermann Peter. The editor has provided with the text an *apparatus criticus* giving variant readings and corrections suggested by other editors. The translation is excellent and the English style leaves nothing to be desired.

The bibliography includes only works dealing directly with the date, purpose, and interpretation of the *Historia*. Some readers may wish that the editor had provided a list of selected historical works which present the economic, social, and constitutional setting for the lives of the rulers and pretenders. Clearly that was not the editor's purpose.

On every page the *Historia Augusta* bristles with difficult historical problems. After the period covered by the first six biographies, from Commodus on, it is very difficult for any one, even the specialist, to find his way through the confusing and dimly lighted byways of the third century. The editor seems to have utilized every scrap of material, including the results of recent papyrological investigation, to establish the sequence and chronology of this period.

The lives in the *Historia* contain many spurious documents and interpolated passages. The editor has been very diligent in warning his readers against these forgeries. One wonders at times if there might not be in some instances a grain of truth mixed with the mass of error in these documents. Yet so scanty are our materials that in most cases it seems a hopeless task to salvage anything from the wreckage.

THOS. A. BRADY

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

DAVID M. ROBINSON, *Excavations at Olynthus*, Part VI, The Coins Found at Olynthus in 1931: Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press (1932).

This volume keeps up the standard set by the others of the series in the matter of scholarly treatment of material and is planned so that the coins found may be easily studied. It is arranged as follows: pages vii-xiv, preface, table of contents, and list of illustrations; pages 1-111, text, the description of the coins, prefaced by a note on the history of the place whose coins are described; plates I-xxiii, photographed from the coins, and xxiv-xxix, photographed from casts of the coins; plate xxx, a diagram of the area of the excavations, showing where the coins were found. Opposite page 4 is an outline map showing the location of places whose coins were found at Olynthus.

To the science of numismatics it is a definite contribution. The coins found are important in that they help to identify types already known. A few new types also are illustrated, as, Sermylia (p. 95), Iasus (p. 33, no. 125), Acanthus, Apollonia, and Bottiaea (p. 52, no. 161 ff.). With definiteness the author locates the Trieres as in Macedonia or Thrace; yet in the assigning of types he takes care against being dogmatic (p. 77).

In a note on page 3 the author answers reviewers of *The Coins Found at Olynthus in 1928* who accuse him of saying that the proportion of trade with Olynthus is indicated by the number of coins. The view, however, is implied on page 4 of the present volume in the following: "Of these [cities] Potidaea with 102 coins seems to have been most active commercially with the Olynthians," etc.

In the criticism of a work that is done with such care one hesitates to suggest changes of method. However, when deductions are drawn as to the identity of type, it would be helpful to the reader if the figures of the coins were placed so that the heads were in the same pose. For example, coins 23 and 25 (p. 22, Pl. III, 23, 25) are said to be from the same dies, obverse and reverse; yet in the illustration coin 23 seems to show a head looking down, and 25 a head looking up. The same would apply to 58 (Pl. v)

in its relation to 57 and the others with which it is grouped. Again in 57, 59, 60 (Pl. v) the curve at the bottom of the neck does not seem to be the same; yet it would be expected to be similar in coins from the same die.

Reasons for dating coins are not always given, and the omission is felt especially where the dating of another authority is disputed (p. 83, and Myrina, p. 86, and Terone, p. 96).

THOMAS SHEARER DUNCAN

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

W. F. JACKSON KNIGHT, *Vergil's Troy*, Essays on the Second Book of the *Aeneid*: Basil Blackwell, Oxford (1932). Pp. 158. 4s. 6d.

The keynote of this little book is found, perhaps, in the Introduction (p. 3):

To receive the influence of the work of art, the percipient must bring himself into a right relation to it by habituation and knowledge. He must acquire opinions and beliefs as near as possible to the truth: the truth for him now. If this seems subjective or arbitrary, it cannot be helped.

In these four essays the author tries to reach this right relationship by bringing the reader into direct contact with the Second Book of the *Aeneid* from the points of view of "The Poetry," "The Epic Tragedy," "The Legends," and "The Events."

In Chapter II the author points out a number of passages in which Vergil makes shrewd use of dactyls and spondees, caesura, alliteration, assonance, rhyme, and vowel and consonant values in varying proportions in order to attain heightened effects. Much of the chapter is devoted to an exposition and demonstration of what the author calls "homodyne" and "heterodyne" hexameters in the "texture" of the poem. "Homodyne" means a line in which the metrical ictus coincides with the natural word-accent in the fourth foot. "Heterodyne" is one in which the accents do not thus coincide. Passages are quoted and marked in an endeavor to show that there are "designs" or "panels" in the use of these homodyne and heterodyne hexameters by Vergil. While this is quite ingenious, probably there will be few readers

who will follow Mr. Knight very far with much enthusiasm in these rather subjective "designs."

Three scenes are explained in Chapter III to show that "Vergil has contrived to unite the epic and dramatic technique in one poem" (p. 55). The Sinon episode with the tragic death of Laocoön, the death of Priam, and the loss of Creusa furnish enough of suspense, mystery, pathos, and fear to satisfy tragic requirements, and the dramatic appearance of Venus and the shade of Creusa are pointed out. Yet there is little that is really new in this short chapter.

Restoring various legends regarding the fall of Troy, Chapter IV shows Vergil's method of "transference and integration" especially in using the same material as used by Quintus Smyrnaeus and Tryphiodorus. The reader will carry away with him a higher estimation of Vergil's skill in choosing and recasting his material in such a way as to accomplish the well thought-out plan of the whole epic.

In the final chapter there is a rather detailed discussion of the why and wherefore of the wooden horse and of how it was brought into Troy. It is Mr. Knight's belief that "a collection of various references strongly suggests that its importance was religious or superstitious in some sense" (p. 113). The attempt to reconstruct the various events of the fall of Troy and to trace the sources which Vergil used may be laudable enough, but the fact remains that Vergil was writing poetry rather than history. There is, however, in this chapter a good deal of interesting material regarding superstitions and occult practices in connection with the wooden horse.

The notes are all collected on twelve pages of fine print at the back of the book. This is a satisfactory arrangement, since most of these notes are merely bibliographical references in great abundance. There is also an Index of nearly four pages, sufficient for the needs of the book.

The author cannot be accused of being dogmatic in many of his statements. On the contrary, the value of the book is lessened by the constant repetition of such words as "seem" or "seems" (oc-

curring over 154 times), "recalls," "suggests," and the like. The impression is given that the author is himself not thoroughly convinced, and the reader is often left on the borderline of doubt and hesitancy. An instance is found in the rather enigmatical (if not inane) statement on page 66: "*Nostrī* probably means all the people whom it might mean, regardless of logical exclusions." Along with this there are a few wavering inconsistencies such as the two pairs of quotations following will show:

(1) The alliteration of *u* is favorite and seems to give force (p. 16); "... though the sound of *u* predominates — notably, in the answering assonances *effugiunt petunt teguntur*, which possibly contribute to the dark mystery of the deed" (p. 34); (2) ... the alliteration of *p* suggests force (p. 36); "... alliterations of *t* and *p* seem to shed a sunset glow of high tragedy, bathing away the injustice and the pain" (p. 40).

In spite of the defects and weaknesses in this little book, it is worth having in the library of any Vergilian student, especially if he possesses the other volumes in this series of Vergilian studies. It will have a stimulating effect upon the study of the wide and varied possibilities in the poetry of Vergil.

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## Hints for Teachers

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[Edited by Dorrance S. White of the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. The aims of this department are threefold: to assist the inexperienced teacher of Latin, to help the experienced teacher keep in touch with matters of interest in the professional world, and to serve as a receiving center and distributing point for questions and contributions on teaching problems. Questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods, and materials are requested. Anything intended for publication should be typed on stationery of regular size. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department.]

### Latin Newspapers

We are glad to acknowledge receipt of the April issue of the *Aquila Romana*, published by the Manchester (N. H.) High School department of Latin. This is an interesting number. It is of substantial brown paper in clear mimeographed type. The cover is artistically decorated and the six sheets are wired together without folding. On the first page we find the customary volume, date, and number of the issue with a staff of five students set between well drawn fasces. The paper is handled by an editor-in-chief, associate editor, literary editor, circulation manager, and assistant circulation manager. It is under the direction of two women, presumably instructors in the Latin department. It is published three times a year. The articles are signed and are composed of expositions of Roman private life, two contributions in the nature of propaganda in favor of studying Latin, and translations from the *Aeneid* in prose and verse. The articles are all in English except one on President Roosevelt, the Latinity of which might well have been proof read before run under the cylinder. There are altogether nine pages of material and the whole make-up would indicate a live department of Latin in the Manchester High School.

Another Latin paper of merit is the *Acta Latina*, published by the Central State Teachers College at Edmond, Oklahoma. This

is published the fourth term of each year. The first of its eight pages is a striking cover representing what might have been Caesar's Coat of Arms. The paper is composed mostly in English, although on the fifth page there is a little play in Latin, and page seven is devoted to an Easter Pageant in Latin. There are jokes of local interest, contributions on antiquarian subjects, departmental news, small touches of propaganda, and a clever skit or two. Everything in the paper is original. The paper is a credit to the Central State Teachers College department of Latin.

The third Latin paper to come recently to our desk is the *Loquax*, published by the department of Latin at Central High School, Omaha, Nebraska. This has a very businesslike appearance. Besides its two editors-in-chief, two associate editors, business manager, and circulation manager, there are three feature editors, five assistants to the business manager, five assistants to the circulation manager, two journalism and art advisers, and two Latin club advisers. The expenses of the paper, which sells for five cents, are partly defrayed by nearly half a page of local advertising. An interesting feature is the cartoon on the front page, reprinted by permission, of two workmen engraving something in Latin on the front of a stone building. One asks the other, as he finishes the last stroke in the preposition, "Does *ex* take the ablative or the dative?" Some of the titles, to give an idea of the contents, are "A Banquet in Hades," "Gold Then and Now," "Latin Here and There," "Adventures of Little Willie," "The Preservation of Manuscripts," "Caesar's Own Story," "The Missing Muse and Other Essays," "Aeneas Africanus," "Roman Diet," "The Brave Death of Catiline."

A fourth Latin paper is the *Forum Latinum*, published by the Boys' High School of Brooklyn, New York, under the direction of a staff of fourteen. The issue at hand is made up of eight pages on good paper and attractively bound. It presents a commendable portion of its material in Latin which reads well and amusingly and among other interesting features contains a Latin crossword puzzle and many clever bits of humor and fact. This issue announces that the *Forum Latinum* placed second in the Columbia

competition for foreign language papers from all schools of the United States.

Frequent inquiry is made on how to run a successful Latin paper. A good many things are necessary, but there are at least these essentials: a capable staff, well supervised by one or two Latin teachers willing to work after school hours, a sufficient number of good take-offs on Latin students so that the interest of subscribers will be whetted for each issue, a certain proportion of skits and plays done in either Latin or English which shall possess real merit, even if largely the work of the supervisors, and advertising enough to cut down the expenses incidental to publishing the paper. This all means hard work and astute supervision. But the returns are worth it. Only a hustling Latin department will support a Latin paper. One may be reasonably certain that Latin teachers who supervise such an enterprise are in the upper ten per cent of teachers.

#### A Question of Indirect Questions

*Quid proxima, quid superiore nocte egeris, ubi fueris, quos convocaveris, quid consili ceperis quem nostrum ignorare arbitraris?* is generally mistranslated "Who of us do you think is ignorant what you did last night, what the night before last" with no explanation of *quem ignorare*. To explain it as a rhetorical question is inadequate. None of the recent editions of Cicero refer to it. Even the latest and most scholarly edition writes, "The direct question carries with it five indirect questions," which is both incomplete and misleading. Is *quid proxima, quid superiore* one question or two? If one, then *quem ignorare* must by these editors be classed as an indirect question. Wrong.

"Gildersleeve's Latin Grammar (1894), 315: '*Quis* (*qui*), fainter than *aliquis*, is used chiefly after *si*, if; *nisi*, unless; *ne*, lest; *num*, whether, and in relative sentences.' Harkness' Latin Grammar, 512: 'Of these, *quis*, any one, is the most indefinite.' *Ponere iubebam, de quo quis audire vellet* (C. Tusc. I, 4, 7); *num quis, cui eligendi potestas esset quemquam his anteponebat!* (C. Brutus, 50). Therefore, 'Do you think any one of us is ignorant what

you did last night' is the only correct rendering of the above passage."

Thus writes E. D. Daniels of the Boys' High School, Brooklyn, New York. Without question the *quid*-clauses which Dr. Daniels first quotes are indirect and depend upon *ignorare*, as the notes in all editions make haste to state. And undoubtedly *quem* is the subject of *ignorare* and the two are the object of *arbitraris*, which is the independent verb. Furthermore, all will probably agree that *quem* is the indefinite rather than the interrogative. But whether we translate "*What one of us* do you think does not know," as is suggested in the Sanford, Scott, Beeson textbook, or "Do you think that *any one of us* does not know," is in the opinion of the editor the difference between Tweedle-dum and Tweedle-dee. Cicero might have meant *quem* to have the force of an interrogative without writing *ignorare* as *ignoret*, if he could write such a sentence as this in *In Cat.* iv, 9, 19: *Cogitate quantis laboribus fundatum imperium, quanta virtute stabilitam libertatem, quanta deorum benignitate auctas exaggeratasque fortunas, una nox paene delerit.* Here is a sentence to diagram!

#### Collateral Reading in English

Thus far no extensive list of books for supplementary reading in English in high-school Latin classes has appeared in the CLASSICAL JOURNAL. Some schools with adequate library facilities make use of such lists, and for the benefit of teachers who are without the facilities but who wish to enrich the background of their pupils' work, we are glad to present the following contribution of an Indiana teacher. Through the extension division of universities and colleges, as many teachers know, books may be rented for a nominal sum.

I have found the appended list of books useful in enriching the Latin course and in interesting the pupils in "what it is all about." Each class has its required reading, and each student is permitted to report on one book from the supplementary list every term of six weeks. For this he is given a credit of two or three per cent, depending on the book and the excellence of the report. Each class has assigned pages from Sabin's *Classical Myths That Live Today* that must be reported on each semes-

ter. They must be sufficiently familiar with this material to answer one question in examination about it. There are many little books in easy "made" Latin which the pupils enjoy translating and for which they should receive more credit than for reports on books written in English. Some of these are:

Maud Read, *Julia and Camilla*: New York, Macmillan Co.; H. C. Nutting, *Ad Alpes*: Chicago, Scott, Foresman and Co.; Department of Classical Languages, *Bobs*: Iowa City, Ia.

#### REQUIRED READING

9 B — Whitehead, *Standard Bearer*: Chicago, American Book Co.

9 A — R. F. Wells, *With Caesar's Legions*: Boston, Lothrop, Lee and Shepard.

Caesar I — Haaren and Poland, *Famous Men of Rome*: Chicago, American Book Co.; or S. L. Harding, *City of Seven Hills*: Chicago, Scott, Foresman and Co.

Caesar II — W. S. Davis, *Friend of Caesar*: New York, Macmillan Co.

Cicero — Johnston, *Private Life of the Romans*<sup>2</sup>: Chicago, Scott, Foresman and Co.

Vergil — Gayley, *Classic Myths in English Literature and in Art*: Boston, Ginn and Co.; and A. J. Church, *Boys' and Girls' Iliad*: New York, Macmillan Co.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY LIST FOR THE FIRST TWO YEARS

Paul L. Anderson, *With the Eagles; For Freedom and for Gaul*: New York, Appleton and Co.; R. F. Wells, *On Land and Sea with Caesar*: Boston, Lothrop, Lee and Shepard; Helen C. Crewe, *Trojan Boy; Singing Seamen; Lost King*: New York, Century Co.; Irving Bacheller, *Vergilius*: New York, Harper Bros.; Edward Lucas White, *Andivius Hedulio; Unwilling Vestal*: New York, E. P. Dutton and Co.; A. J. Church, *Lucius, Adventures of a Roman Boy*: New York, Dodd, Mead and Co.; Ian C. Hannah, *Voadicea*: New York, Longmans, Green and Co.; Louise Lamprey, *Children of Ancient Gaul; Children of Ancient Rome*: Boston, Little, Brown and Co.; G. A. Henty, *Young Carthaginian*; Jennie Hill, *Buried Cities*: New York, Macmillan Co.; Caroline Dale Snedeker, *Theras and His Town*: New York, Doubleday, Doran and Co.; W. S. Davis, *A Day in Old Rome; A Day in Old Athens*: Boston, Allyn and Bacon; Charles Kingsley, *The Heroes*: New York, E. P. Dutton and Co.; Francillon, *Gods and Heroes*: Boston, Ginn and Co.; J. A. Froude, *Caesar*: New York, Charles Scribner's Sons; T. R. Holmes, *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*: New York, Macmillan Co.; Anne Allinson, *Children of the Way*; Naomi Mitchison, *When the Bough Breaks; The*

*Conquered*: New York, Harcourt, Brace and Co.; E. L. Arnold, *Wonderful Adventures of Phra the Phoenician*: New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons; R. Baker, *In the Light of Myth*: Chicago, Row Peterson Co.; Jane Andrews, *Ten Boys on the Road from Yesterday till Now*: Boston, Ginn and Co.; W. S. Davis, *Victor of Salamis*: Boston, Allyn and Bacon.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY LIST FOR THIRD AND FOURTH YEARS

Fowler, *Social Life at Rome*: New York, Macmillan Co.; A. J. Church, *Roman Life in the Days of Cicero*: New York, Dodd, Mead and Co.; Tappan, *Story of the Roman People*: Boston, Houghton, Mifflin and Co.; Gilman, *Rome*: New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons; W. S. Davis, *Readings in Ancient History*: Boston, Allyn and Bacon; Botsford, *Rome*: New York, Macmillan Co.; West, *Value of the Classics*: Princeton, N. J., University Press; Mackail, *Latin Literature*: New York, Charles Scribner's Sons; *Vergil and His Meaning*: Boston, Marshall Jones Co.; Glover, *Virgil*: London, Methuen and Co.; W. A. Becker, *Gallus*: New York, Longmans, Green and Co.; Smith, *English Usage*: New York, Henry Holt and Co.; Greenough and Kittredge, *Words and Their Ways*; Grant Showerman, *Rome and the Romans*: New York, Macmillan Co.; A. L. Mackaye, *Slave Prince*: Boston, L. C. Page and Co.; Paul L. Anderson, *Slave of Catiline*: New York, D. Appleton and Co.; Seymour Van Santwood, *Octavia*: New York, E. P. Dutton and Co.; G. Ferrero, *Women of the Caesars*: New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons; Gertrude Atherton, *Dido*: New York, Horace Liveright; Edward Lucas White, *Helen*: New York, E. P. Dutton and Co.; D. M. Cheney, *Son of Minos*: New York, Macbride; Emil Ludwig, *Schliemann*: Boston, Little, Brown and Co.; H. P. Peck, *Trimalchio's Dinner Party*: New York, Dodd, Mead and Co.

Other books, too well known to quote author and publisher, which are of prime importance as background for Latin classes are *Quo Vadis*, *Ben Hur*, *Rienzi*, *the Last of the Roman Tribunes*, *Last Days of Pompeii*, a Latin Testament, and Plutarch's *Lives*.

JULIA LECLERC KNOX

CRAWFORDSVILLE, IND.



## Current Events

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[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., and John Barker Stearns, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H., for territory covered by the Associations of New England and the Atlantic States; Victor D. Hill, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; George Howe, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., for the Southeastern States; Eugene Tavenner, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., for the Southwestern States; and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Frederic S. Dunn, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore.]

This department will present everything that is properly news of general appeal, but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible. Whenever feasible, it is preferable to print programs of meetings which would draw an attendance from a large area as live news in advance of the date rather than as dead news after the event. In this connection it should be remembered that the December issue, e.g., appears on November fifteenth and that items must be in hand five or six weeks in advance of this date.]

### The University of Iowa

Professor Dorrance S. White of the Classics Department, State University of Iowa, will broadcast his course, "Graeco-Roman Literature and Civilization" (Greek 107, Latin 108), over the university's radio station W S U I beginning September 25, 1933. The broadcasts will occur on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday at 11 A.M. throughout the year. The "Graeco-Roman Literature" course was inaugurated by Professor Norman Foerster, Director of the School of Letters, in the fall of 1931 as a part of the reorganized English course. The work is designed for the interests of graduate and undergraduate students majoring either in English or the classics. An understanding of the literary content of the more important works in the field of Greek and Roman literature and some consideration of the ancient Greek and Roman view of life are the main objectives of the course.

### Birmingham, Alabama

Lulie Hard McKinley reports a unique banquet given in June, 1933, by the first Vergil class of the new Erskine Ramsay High School. The scene of this event was the Roman estate of George Ward on Shades Mountain overlooking the city. The building is a stone replica of the circular temples to be seen in and near Rome.

The procession, led by twenty "slaves" with flaming torches, formed outside the iron gates of the estate and moved slowly up the stone steps past the lily pool and along the flagged walk to the temple. Here Aeneas and Dido paid their respects to the "Vestal Virgins," who accepted their sacrifices of live doves. Then the Head Vestal led the procession across the lawns, through the labyrinth back of the temple, and then into the sunken gardens, where the banquet was held. In this place, surrounded by thick hedges of boxwood, fountains illuminated by colored lights, and marble statuary, Aeneas and Dido, seated on a sumptuous couch, held court and received the greetings and gifts offered by the young people representing in picturesque and colorful costumes the various characters of the *Aeneid*.

In classical style the slaves served the several courses of Roman food, and entertainment was provided in the form of wrestling matches, dances, music, and orations.

This pageant was planned under the direction of Miss Mildred Game of the Latin department, who was assisted by Miss Sarah McKibben, the librarian of the high school. The guests of honor were Principal T. C. Young, George Ward, host and patron, and Erskine Ramsay, president of the board of education, all of whom appeared in interesting costumes.

#### **Harvard University and American School at Athens**

By the wills of James Loeb, New York banker and philanthropist and patron of the arts, whose death occurred in Murnau, Germany, on May 27, Harvard College is the recipient of two bequests of \$500,000 and \$300,000 respectively. The income from the former trust is to be used to increase the salaries of tutors and assistants in the department of classics of the university; the latter, to be known as The Loeb Classical Library Foundation, includes all the vested rights of Mr. Loeb, property and title, in the well-known library of Latin and Greek texts and translations founded by Mr. Loeb in 1912. This series, originally planned to consist of 375 volumes, of which some 160 have already appeared, will now, in accordance with the provisions of the bequest, be still further increased. The income from this fund the college is to use for research in Greek and Latin literature.

The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Greece, is also to have the benefit of a \$500,000 trust to defray the cost of the school's archaeological excavations in Greece, the islands of the Greek Archipelago, Asia Minor, Africa, Sicily, and Southern Italy.

#### **University of Michigan — Johns Hopkins**

Professor Benjamin D. Meritt, New York Alumni Professor of Greek and Latin in the University of Michigan, has accepted a call to Johns

Hopkins University and has taken up his new duties this autumn. His chair is to be the Francis White professorship of Greek. Besides enjoying the prestige of the position once occupied by Gildersleeve, Professor Meritt is to be given unusual facilities for prosecuting his studies of the inscriptions of the Athenian agora. The many friends who regret his departure from the Middle West cordially felicitate him upon his opportunities to push forward the researches in which he has already won high distinction.

#### Phillips Andover

Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts, has lately adopted a new ruling which will henceforth ask of its students only three years of one foreign language and two years of another, either Greek, Latin, German, or French, in contrast with its former basic requirement of two years of Latin. "This placing of Latin upon an elective basis," to quote Dr. Claude M. Fuess, the new headmaster, in *The New York Times*, "does not indicate a lessened faith in the value of the classics" but simply holds out a choice to the boy to whom a modern language would be more attractive and beneficial. "Andover will still continue to advise most of its undergraduates to complete four years of Latin." This change, in common with an increased emphasis on history, current problems in economics, science and politics, and appreciation of art, architecture and music, is calculated, says Dr. Fuess, "to send out its graduates even better equipped to play their part in a complex and exigent world."

#### Stockton, California

The Classical Club of Stockton and the College of the Pacific has had a successful season under the presidency of Ralph Hofmeister of the High School.

Papers have been read on: "The Release of Orestes and Electra" by Dean Fred L. Farley; "The Women of Euripides" by Dr. Gertrude M. Sibley; "The Odyssey" by Prof. L. J. Vannucini; "Ancient Athletics" by Dr. G. A. Werner; "Latin Elegiac Poets" by Mrs. Hudson Smythe; "The Classics in Modern Life" by Mrs. Dewey Powell.

The Club is also sponsoring two productions of the "Mycenaean Tragedy, an Ancient Tale Retold" by Fred L. Farley. One of these productions was a part of the Fourth Fine Arts Soirée of the College of the Pacific, dedicated to creative work by local authors, and the other was a part of the meeting of the Central Section of the Classical Association of the Pacific States at Berkeley.

With the scenes of this dramatic piece laid in Mycenae at the close of the Trojan War and at Athens in the Golden Age, the tragedy of

Agamemnon is narrated by citizens, Cassandra, a tragic poet and two of his actors, and a Sapphic poetess. The meters used are the iambic pentameter, iambic trimeter, anapaestic tetrameter, choliambic, hendecasyllabic, and Sapphic stanzas.

Both productions were directed by Miss William P. Hinsdale.

#### Washington University, St. Louis

The ninth annual convention of Eta Sigma Phi, the national fraternity of outstanding students of Latin and Greek, met at Washington University, St. Louis, April 29 and 30, 1933.

There are now forty-one chapters of the fraternity, which were represented at the St. Louis convention by thirty-one official delegates and by numerous additional members, who came as unofficial visitors. The membership of the organization now stands at seven hundred and ninety-eight, whose interest in a common cause and in one another is maintained through the medium of a national magazine, the *Nuntius*.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the meeting was the report of the Committee on High School Expansion. This was based largely upon contributory reports made by the respective chapters showing that these latter were successfully enlisting the interest of teachers and students of Latin in the high schools either of the locality of the chapter or of the whole state in which the college chapter is located. These efforts usually took the form of medals to outstanding students in these high schools, classical programs open to high school students, speeches before high school groups, and Latin plays to which high school students were invited. In order to unify this work it was recommended by the committee "that orientation groups be organized with a view to interesting high school seniors in continuing their study of Latin and Greek in college, that wherever possible members of Eta Sigma Phi attend their state classical conventions, that the Megas Deuterohyparchos distribute copies of 'Suggestions for Latin Clubs' to the chapters in the fall, and finally, that members of high school faculties be received into membership in the organization." From this it is apparent that Eta Sigma Phi is very much alive.

The social features of the meeting included a luncheon on Friday, tendered by Washington University, a dinner at Washington University, given by the Classical Club of St. Louis on the same day, a luncheon on Saturday by the Classical Club of St. Louis University at Webster College, and a formal banquet at the Chase Hotel Saturday evening.

On Friday evening the members of Alpha Xi chapter, Washington University, under the direction of Mr. George J. Ryan gave a finished production of the *Mostellaria* of Plautus in Latin. The setting, the delivery of the lines, and the acting were all of exceptional excellence.

The officers elected for the coming year are: Megas Prytanis, John Flahie, Alpha Gamma; Megas Protohyparchos, Charis Murley, Beta; Megas Deuterohyparchos, Helen Everall, Epsilon; Megas Epistolographos, Milton Goldstein, Alpha Xi; Megas Grammateus, Idah Stuart, Gamma; Megas Chrysophylax, Grigsby Cornelius, Psi; Megas Pyloros, Katurah Boruff, Theta.

In these years of trial it is heartening to note that the treasury of Eta Sigma Phi is in good condition and that permission to organize a new chapter has been granted to Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia.

To Alpha Xi chapter is due much credit for a most successful meeting, and to Eta Sigma Phi as a whole all lovers of the classics are under profound obligation for its stimulus to the cause of the humanities.

#### **Mount Vernon, Iowa**

The Latin Club at Cornell College during the year 1932-33 studied the myths and festivals celebrated by the Romans during certain months of the year. Some of the programs given during the year took up the Saturnalia, Liberalia, Parilia, and Janus. In each case the topic was discussed by a committee of students. One evening was given over to the dramatization of several well-known myths, and the activities of the year closed with a steak fry at the Palisades Park on the Cedar River. At the opening meeting of the year Professor Hutchinson gave an informal talk on "Reminders of Italy in Southern California." During the year 1933-34 the club will consider the Greek and Roman drama and have readings from selected Greek and Latin plays in English translation.

## Recent Books<sup>1</sup>

[Compiled by Russel M. Geer, Brown University.]

- BAUER, CHARLES F., *Latin Perfect Endings -ere and -erunt* (Language Dissertations, No. 13): Philadelphia, Linguistic Society of America (1933). Pp. 79. \$1.
- BLAKENEY, E. H., *Ausonius, The Mosella*, Text, Translation into English Verse, Introduction, Life, and Commentary: London, Eyre and Spottiswoode (1933). Pp. 74. 16s.
- BUDGE, ERNEST A. T. W., *The Alexander Book in Ethiopia*, Translated into English: New York, Oxford University Press (1933). Pp. 277, with 13 plates. \$2.50.
- CARPENTER, RHYS, *The Humanistic Value of Archaeology* (Martin Classical Lectures, Vol. IV): Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1933). Pp. 134. \$1.50.
- FAY, MARJORIE J., *Carolus et Maria*: Chicago, University of Chicago Press (1933). Pp. xi + 98. \$0.70.
- FRANK, TENNEY, AND OTHERS, *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, Vol. I, Rome and Italy of the Republic: Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press (1933). Pp. 445. \$3.
- GREENE, WILLIAM CHASE, *The Achievement of Rome*, A Chapter in Civilization: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1933). Pp. xviii + 560. \$4.50.
- GREGORY, HORACE, *Catullus, The Poems*, with an English Translation: New York, Covici, Friede (1933). Pp. 360. \$1.
- HALLIDAY, WILLIAM R., *Indo-European Folk-tales and Greek Legend* (Gray Lectures, 1932): New York, Macmillan Co. (1933). Pp. viii + 158. \$2.35.
- HEIDEL, WILLIAM A., *Heroic Age of Science*, The Conception, Ideals, and Methods of Science among the Ancient Greeks (Carnegie Institute of Washington, Publication No. 442): Baltimore, Williams and Wilkins Co. (1933). Pp. vii + 203. \$2.50.
- LIGHTFOOT, G. C., *Progressive Latin Reader*: London, Rivingtons (1933). Pp. viii + 184. 2s. 6d.
- LOWE, E. A., AND OTHERS, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century, Part I, The Vatican City: Oxford, University Press (1933). Pp. 44, with 34 plates. £2. 10s.

<sup>1</sup> Including books received at the Editorial Office of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL at Columbia, Mo.



- MACFARLANE, J., *New Pocket Dictionary of the Latin and English Languages*: Latin-English and English-Latin, with a Selection of Latin Phrases (The E. F. G. Pocket Series): New York, D. Appleton and Co. (1933). Pp. 876.
- MAXEY, MIMA, *Cornelia* (Chicago Latin Series): Chicago, University of Chicago Press (1933). Pp. xiii + 78. \$0.70.
- MAXEY, MIMA, AND FAY, MARJORIE J., *New Latin Primer* (Chicago Latin Series): Chicago, University of Chicago Press (1933). Pp. xiii + 138. \$0.90.
- MEINECKE, BRUNO, *Third Year Latin*, New Revision of Kelsey's Cicero, with Added Selections from Cicero, Sallust, Livy, and Pliny, Explanatory Notes, a Companion, Essentials of Grammar and Syntax, and Vocabulary: Boston, Allyn and Bacon (1933). Pp. xxi + 720 + 229.
- MOORE, GEORGE, *The Pastoral Loves of Daphnis and Chloe*, Done into English: London, William Heinemann (1933). Pp. 152. 6s.
- MOSELEY, NICHOLAS, AND HAMMOND, MASON, *T. Macci Plauti Menaechmi*, with an Introduction and Notes: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1933). Pp. ix + 131. \$1.50.
- PARKE, H. W., *Greek Mercenary Soldiers*, from the Earliest Times to the Battle of Ipsus: New York, Oxford University Press (1933). Pp. vii + 243. \$3.75.
- PEAKE, HAROLD J. E., AND FLEURE, H. J., *The Horse and the Sword* (Corridors of Time, No. 8): New Haven, Yale University Press (1933). Pp. viii + 152. \$2.
- PENDLEBURY, J. D. S., *Handbook to the Palace of Minos at Knossos*: New York, Macmillan Co. (1933). Pp. 103. \$1.35.
- REINHOLD, MEYER, *Marcus Agrippa*: A Biography: Geneva, N. Y., W. F. Humphrey Press (1933). Pp. x + 203. \$2.50.
- ROES, ANNA, *Greek Geometric Art*, Its Symbolism and Its Origin: New York, Oxford University Press (1933). Pp. 128. \$3.
- SEDGWICK, HENRY D., *The Art of Happiness*, or The Teachings of Epicurus: Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill Co. (1933). Pp. 181. \$2.
- STREATFEILD, H. G. C., *Idiomatic Latin Prose for School Certificate Classes*: London, George G. Harrap and Co. (1933). Pp. 99. 2s. 6d. Key, 5s. 3d.
- STRODACH, GEORGE K., *Latin Diminutives in -ello/a- and -illo/a-* (Language Dissertations, No. 14): Philadelphia, Linguistic Society of America (1933). Pp. 98. \$1.40.
- Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, Vol. V. 2, Fasc. III, elaboro — emetior: Leipzig, Teubner (1933). Coll. 159. M. 10.
- WEBSTER, T. B. L., *Cicero, Pro L. Flacco Oratio*, with Introduction and Notes: New York, Oxford University Press (1933). Pp. xix + 116. \$1.25.

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